This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

PROPERTY OF
The University of Michigan Libraries
1817
ARTES SC[illegible] VERITAS

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SURRENDER OF BUONAPARTE

AND OF HIS

RESIDENCE ON BOARD H.M.S. BELLEROPHON;

WITH A DETAIL OF

THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS THAT OCCURRED

IN THAT SHIP,

BETWEEN THE 24th OF MAY AND THE 8th OF AUGUST, 1815.

BY

CAPTAIN F. L. MAITLAND, C. B.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY HENRY COLBURN,
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1826.

Digitized by Google

DC
211
M23

LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.

Digitized by Google

Yeoman
2-3-39
37671

PREFACE.

SOME explanation seems called for, when, after a lapse of eleven years, I present to the Public my Narrative of the reception and residence of Napoleon Buonaparte on board H. M. S. Bellerophon; as it will naturally be asked, why it has been so many years in seeing the light, and from what cause it makes its appearance at this particular period.

Digitized by Google

Immediately after the extraordinary and interesting events took place which are here recorded, I was, by the earnest solicitations of my friends, induced to throw together the notes and memoranda in my possession, of the proceedings in which I bore so prominent a part. I was further led to undertake this task, so foreign to my usual occupations, in consequence of the many misrepresentations that appeared at that time, respecting the conduct of Buonaparte while on board the ship I commanded, as well as my treatment of him.

The following Narrative was then written solely for the private perusal of my friends, and not with a view to publication many reasons combining, at that

Digitized by Google

time, in my opinion, to render such a measure inexpedient.

I made it my study to state events exactly as they occurred, and, in doing so, to avoid, as much as possible, all prejudice, either against or in favour of the extraordinary man whom it was my fortune to secure and bring to this country. It may appear surprising, that a possibility could exist of a British officer, being prejudiced in favour of one who had caused so many calamities to his country; but to such an extent did he possess the power of pleasing, that there are few people who could have sat at the same table with him for nearly a month, as I did, without feeling a sensation of pity, allied perhaps to regret, that a man

Digitized by Google

possessed of so many fascinating qualities, and who had held so high a station in life, should be reduced to the situation in which I saw him.

Although many of the causes for withholding my Narrative from the public eye, have long been removed, I had no intention of bringing it forward, until by accident it fell into the hands of a most celebrated literary character. He did me the honour, on returning it, to express an opinion which I was not at all prepared to expect, and so strongly to recommend its being published, that however averse to appearing as an author, I have been induced under the sanction of such high authority, to present it to the public.

The habits of my life, since I entered

Digitized by Google

my profession at a very early age, have been very different from those of a literary man; and therefore the following Narrative has no pretensions to any other merit, than what arises from the interest of the subject, and is nearly verbatim as originally written in the Autumn of 1815.

FRED^K. L. MAITLAND.

Lindores, 1826.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

Captain Maitland sets sail in the Bellerophon, with sealed Instructions 1

He arrives off l'Isle Dieu. Proceeds off Rochefort . 2

Reconnoitres the French Ships of war under l'Isle d'Aix 3

Is joined by the Cephalus 4

Captain Maitland hears of the Victory of Waterloo. On June 30, receives a communication, sent from Bourdeaux within a quill, respecting the probable Flight of Buonaparte by Sea . . . 5

Blockades Rochefort, Bourdeaux, and la Teste d'Arcasson 8

Destroys his Prizes 9

A Man and Boy in a flat Punt saved . . . 10

Captain Maitland watches the Frigates at l'Isle d'Aix closely 12

Receives Sir Henry Hotham's Instructions . 13, 15, 16

Digitized by Google

PAGE.

The Mouche Schooner, with Savary and Las Cases with a Flag of Truce, approaches the Bellerophon 22
Secret Orders from Sir Henry Hotham . 22, 25
Letter of Count Bertrand, announcing Napoleon's Intention of sailing to North America . . 27
The Captain's Answer to Bertrand . . 30
Conversation with Savary and Las Cases . 32
Receives private Information by a Row-boat . 36
Captain Maitland guards the Mamusson Passage . 37
The White Flag is hoisted at Rochelle . 38, 39
The Bellerophon fires a Royal Salute . 38
The French Frigates appear ready to put to Sea . 39
English Guard-boats continue to row near the Frigates 40
British Flag of Truce, its colour . . ib.
The Mouche Schooner, with Las Cases and General Lallemand, returns to the Bellerophon . . 41
Communication delivered from Napoleon . 43
Captain Maitland's Reply . . 43, 44
Buonaparte stated to be at Rochefort, but is at l'Isle d'Aix 45, 46
Design for effecting the Escape of Buonaparte in a Cask on board of a Danish Vessel . . 47
Las Cases, with General Gourgaud returns to the Bellerophon 48
They bring an important Letter from Bertrand . 49
List of Napoleon's Suite 52
The Emperor's Letter to H. R. H. the Prince Regent 56
Captain Maitland promises to receive Buonaparte . . 57
Captain Sartorius is despatched to England, with a Letter from Captain Maitland, and with General Gourgaud 59, 60

Digitized by Google

PAGE.
Advice of Buonaparte's wish to escape repeatedly given 66
July 15, Napoleon reaches the Bellerophon, in the Barge of that Ship. He comes on board. His uniform described 69, 70
Napoleon cheered by the Crew of l'Epervier . 71
His Address to Captain Maitland . . ib.
The Ship's Officers are introduced to him . 72
His small knowledge of English . . . 73
He examines the Bellerophon . . . 74
Conversations between Napoleon and Captain Maitland . . . 74, 76, 77, 92, 96, 98, 108
Buonaparte's Naval Opinions . . 75, 76, 79
Breakfast on board the Bellerophon . . . 80
Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham arrives off Rochefort; his Conference with Captain Maitland . . 81
The Admiral comes on board the Bellerophon . 83
Conversation at Dinner 84
Buonaparte's Portable Library and Camp-Bed . 83, 86
He breakfasts on board the Admiral's Ship . 87, 91
Attachment for him evinced by the Officers of his Suite 93, 231
The Bellerophon sets sail for Torbay . . . 95, 97
Buonaparte speaks of Sir Sidney Smith . . 98
The Passage to England described . . 99, 109
Card Parties 100
The Captain's Despatch to Lord Keith . . 102
His Conversation with Countess Bertrand relative to a Portrait of Napoleon 105
Speaks with the Swiftsure, Captain Webley . 106
Count Las Cases 108

Digitized by Google

PAGE.

English Coast in sight 109
The Bellerophon anchors in Torbay . . 110
Buonaparte's Exclamation on viewing the Shore . ib.
Admiral Lord Keith's Orders . . . ib.
English Newspapers read by Napoleon . . 114
Observations of Madame Bertrand . . 115, 116
Persons refused Admission on board the Bellerophon . 117
Lord Keith's Approval of Captain Maitland's Line of Conduct 118, 119
Concourse of Spectators in Boats . . . 117, 120
Remarks of Buonaparte respecting the Fishermen . 120
The Ships sail for Plymouth . . 121, 123
Observations on the Break-water . . . 123
Communications of Civility interchanged between Buonaparte and Lord Keith . . 119, 124
Lord Keith's Precautions . . 125, 127
Buonaparte complains of the Guard-ships . . 129
The Lords of the Admiralty approve of Captain Maitland's Proceedings . . . 130
Napoleon's Letter to the Regent is forwarded . 131
He is considered as a General Officer . . 132
Orders received from the Admiralty . . 133
Napoleon's Compliment on seeing Mrs. Maitland . 134
Sir Richard and Lady Strachan come along-side the Ship . . . . . ib.
Admiral Lord Keith is introduced to Napoleon . 136
Repugnance of the Prisoners to their Banishment to St. Helena. . . 131, 137
Crowd of Boats round the Ship . . 138
Buonaparte's Habits on board Ship . . 139

Digitized by Google

PAGE.

Bertrand, Savary, and Lallemand, fear Proscription . . . 140, 143, 145
Buonaparte informed that he was to be sent to St. Helena 142
Sir Henry Bunbury visits him . . ib.
He complains bitterly . . 143, 144
He writes again to the Regent . . 145
Captain Maitland's Letter favourable to Savary and Lallemand , . . 148, 155
Buonaparte shows himself on deck . . 150
Countess Bertrand much agitated at the thoughts of her Husband going to St. Helena . . 152
Lallemand is reproved by Captain Maitland . 153
Buonaparte's Assertion that "he would not go to St. Helena" . . 151, 154, 157, 167
Extravagant Conversation of the attendant Generals 154, 155
Mr. O'Meara . . . 156
Countess Bertrand attempts to cast herself into the Sea 157
Her impatience; she writes to Lord Keith . 158
Her retrospect of Buonaparte's conduct 158, 159
She is overheard by the Generals . . 160
Buonaparte's Inquiries as to St. Helena . . 161
Report of an Attempt to escape . . . 163
Rumour of an Intention of serving a Habeas Corpus to bring Buonaparte ashore . . . 165
Ship prepared for Sea . . . . ib.
The Northumberland ordered to convey Buonaparte . ib.
The Bellerophon weighs Anchor . . . 167

Digitized by Google

PAGE.
Service of a Subpœna on Buonaparte frustrated, by keeping the Lawyer at bay . . . 167
Note respecting Writs of Habeas Corpus and Subpœnas 168, 170
Buonaparte again writes to the Regent . . 171
He keeps entirely to the Cabin; prepares a Protest . 172
Buonaparte's Protest 173
He declares himself to be the Guest of England, and no Prisoner 174
Captain Maitland's Observations thereon . 177, 178
Conversation on this Subject with Count Las Cases . 179
Buonaparte speaks of the Army of the Loire, and of his Party 181
Mr. O'Meara requested by Buonaparte to become his Surgeon 182
The Northumberland in sight . . . 183
Arms required to be delivered up . . . 185
Lists of Articles essential for the French officers and Ladies forwarded to Plymouth . . . ib.
Sir George Cockburn is introduced to Buonaparte . 186
Buonaparte permitted to wear his Sword . . ib.
He requests an Interview with Captain Maitland . ib.
He expresses his wish of living on a small Estate in England 188
He speaks in favour of Savary and Lallemand . ib.
Captain Maitland's Letter to Count Bertrand . 189
Lord Keith's Order to the Captain to deliver up General Buonaparte and others . . . 190
General Gourgaud 193
Countess Bertrand's Remonstrances . 194, 195
A Misunderstanding and Reconciliation . . 196

Digitized by Google

PAGE.
Napoleon returns Thanks to Captain Maitland . 197
He speaks with regard of Count Bertrand . . 198
Search of the Baggage 199
The Box of Money temporarily taken charge of . 200
Parting of Buonaparte with the Captain . . 203
Buonaparte, accompanying Admiral Lord Keith, quits the Bellerophon . . . 203, 204
Count Montholon's polite Intimation to Captain Maitland 204
The Captain declines the Present of a Portrait . 205
Savary and Lallemand; their affecting parting with Napoleon in the presence of Captain Maitland . 207
The Northumberland sails for St. Helena . . ib.
Description of Napoleon Buonaparte . . 208
His Manners and Conversation . . . 210
Anecdotes 211, 214, 219, 220
He speaks of his Wife and his Son . . . 215
Their Pictures 215, 216
Conversation respecting Kleber and Dessaix . 217
Napoleon's Resources in Money . . . . ib.
The Midshipmen act Plays . . . 220
Buonaparte's Observations on the British Cavalry, and relative to the Duke of Wellington . 221, 222
Character of Count Bertrand . . . 225
Countess Bertrand, a daughter of Gen. Dillon . 226
Savary, Duke of Rovigo described . . 227
Savary, Lallemand, and Planat, are sent to Malta, and allowed to go to Smyrna . . . 228
Character of Lallemand 228
Count and Countess Montholon . . . 229
Count Las Cases and his Son . . . 230

Digitized by Google

PAGE.

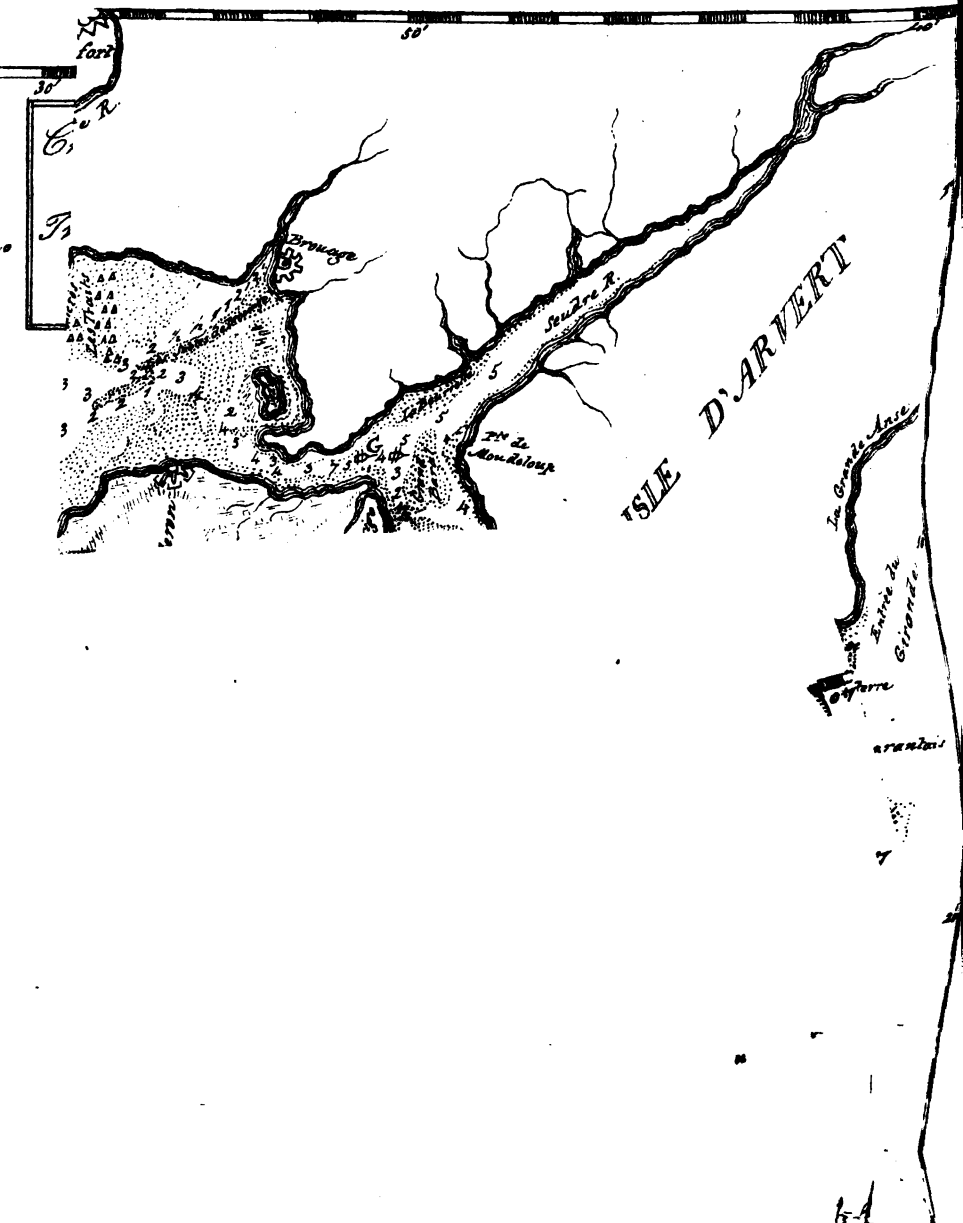
APPENDIX.

On what Terms Captain Maitland received Buonaparte on board his Ship; and Documents relating thereto 233 to 248

Digitized by Google

UNIV. OF MICH.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

On Wednesday the 24th of May, 1815, I sailed from Cawsand Bay, in command of His Majesty's ship Bellerophon, and under the orders of Rear Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, whose flag was hoisted in the Superb. I received sealed instructions, part of which were to be opened on getting to sea, and part only to be examined in the event of my being separated from the Admiral. Those

Digitized by Google

which I opened contained directions to detain, and send into port, all armed vessels belonging to the Government of France.

On Sunday the 28th of May, we joined His Majesty's ship Astrea and Telegraph, stationed off Isle Dieu, on a secret service; and the following day, three transports, under charge of the Helicon, arrived from England, having on board arms and ammunition, to supply the Royalists in La Vendée, for whose support and assistance, I now found the squadron, of which the Bellerophon formed one, was destined.

On Tuesday the 30th of May, I received orders from Sir Henry Hotham, to take the Eridanus under my command, and proceed off Rochefort, for the purpose of preventing a corvette from putting to sea, which, according to information received by the British Government, was to carry proposals

Digitized by Google

from Buonaparte to the West India Colonies, to declare in his favour. I had likewise orders to reconnoitre the Roadstead of Rochefort, and report to the Admiral the number and state of the ships of war lying there. Accordingly, on the 31st of May, I ran into Basque Roads, and found at anchor, under Isle d'Aix, two large frigates, a ship corvette, and a large brig, all ready for sea, which I afterwards ascertained to be the Méduse, Saale, Balladière, and Epervier. Nothing occurred worth mentioning until the 9th of June, when the Vésuve French corvette came in from the northward, and got into Rochefort, notwithstanding every effort to prevent her; the ships under my orders having been driven to the southward, during the night, by a strong northerly wind, accompanied by a southerly current. She was from Guadaloupe, and immediately on passing the Chasseron light-house, hoisted the tricoloured flag.

Digitized by Google

On the 18th of June, I detained and sent to Sir Henry Hotham, the Æneas French store-ship, commanded by a lieutenant of the navy, with a crew of fifty men, loaded with ship-timber for the arsenal of Rochefort; but he, being of opinion that she did not come within the intention of the order, liberated her.

On the 21st of June, I detained and sent to the Admiral, under charge of the Eridanus, the Marianne French transport, from Martinique, having on board 220 of the 9th regiment of light infantry, coming to France to join the army under Buonaparte. The Eridanus was sent to England with her, and did not return to me, being employed on other service.

On the 27th of June, the Cephalus joined us, bringing with her the declaration of war against France; after which we were em-

Digitized by Google

ployed several days, taking and destroying chasse-marées, and other small coasting vessels.

On the 28th of June, I received intelligence, from one of the vessels captured, of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo; and on the 30th, a boat came off from Bourdeaux, bringing the following letter, without date or subscription, written on very thin paper in English, and concealed within a quill. I give the contents verbatim.

Copy of a letter received by Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, off Rochefort, on the 30th of June, 1815, without date or subscription.

"With great degree of certainty, being informed that Buonaparte might have come last night through this city from Paris, with the new Mayor of Bourdeaux, with a view to flight, by the mouth of this river, or

Digitized by Google

La Teste, the author of the last note sent by Mr. ——— hastily drops these few lines, to give the British Admiral advice of such intention, that he may instantly take the necessary steps, in order to seize the man. His ideas will certainly have brought him to think it natural, that the British stations will be less upon their guard in this quarter than any where else. The writer benefits by this opportunity to inform the Admiral that, since the last note, some alteration has taken place with regard to the troops spread in these two Divisions; in lieu of 800 to 1000 in this city, there are now 5000, which is supposed owing to the intention of compressing the minds of this populace in this decisive instant.

"It is supposed the British Admiral is already informed of the Grand Army being totally defeated and destroyed, the abdication of Buonaparte, &c. and the arrival of the allies near the Capital.

Digitized by Google

"An attempt should be made on this Coast, with no less than 8000 men altogether. Immediate steps are wanted to put a stop to the supposed flight.

"Should the attempt be made on the Coast from La Teste to Bourdeaux, an immediate diversion should be made on this side; the success is beyond any doubt.

"A sharp eye must be kept on all American vessels, and particularly on the Susquehannah, of Philadelphia, Captain Caleb Cushing; General Bertrand and another goes with him. The two entrances of Bourdeaux and La Teste must be kept close; a line or two is expected, on the return of the bearer from the Admiral, or Chief Officer on the Station. As this is writing, the news is spread generally, that the Duc de Berri and Lord Wellington are in Paris."

The note alluded to had been received,

Digitized by Google

and forwarded unopened, to the Admiral in Quiberon Bay.

Though my attention was called so strongly to Bourdeaux, or la Teste d'Arcasson, as the parts of the coast from whence Buonaparte would probably attempt to escape, it was my decided opinion that Rochefort was much more likely to be the port where the trial would be made. I therefore sent the Myrmidon off Bourdeaux, the Cephalus to Arcasson, and remained with only the Bellerophon, off Rochefort. From this period, until my return to England, the ship was never, by day or night, more than three miles from the land. Considering it of much importance to communicate the intelligence contained in the letter from Bourdeaux, to my commanding officer, with as little delay as possible; as I had no vessel left with me, after detaching the two ships under my orders, I sent the Bellerophon's barge, under

Digitized by Google

the charge of a lieutenant, with directions to endeavour to join some one of the cruisers stationed off Isle Dieu. I gave him an order, addressed to the Captain of any of His Majesty's ships he might fall in with, to proceed without loss of time, to join the Admiral in Quiberon Bay, with the despatch accompanying it. This boat was fortunate enough to fall in with His Majesty's ship Cyrus, Captain Carrol; who, in consequence, after hoisting in the barge, proceeded to Quiberon Bay.

As the coasting-vessels were not worth sending into port for condemnation, and, considering the circumstances under which the ship I commanded was placed, I should not have felt justified in weakening her complement, even for a prize of value. I was in the habit of using such captures, as marks for the men to practice firing at. The Cephalus had a chasse-marée in tow for that

Digitized by Google

purpose, when the letter, inserted above, was received; and I detached her so shortly afterwards, that Captain Furneaux had no opportunity of destroying her, but was obliged to cast her off. After he had left me some time; I observed the vessel drifting to sea, and determined to run down and sink her. While approaching her in this view, I was sweeping the horizon with my glass, when I discovered, at a considerable distance, a small white speck on the water, which had the appearance of a child's boat with paper sails; but I could plainly perceive something that had motion in it; and, after firing on and destroying the chasse-marée, I stood towards the object which had engaged my attention, and found it to be a small punt, about eight feet long, flat-bottomed, and shaped more like a butcher's tray than a boat. In it were a young man about eighteen years of age, and a boy about twelve, who had got into the punt to amuse themselves,

Digitized by Google

and, happening to lose one of their oars, were drifted to sea. They had been thirty-six hours without refreshment of any kind, and with only one oar and a bit of board, which they had formed into something like another; they were quite exhausted with fatigue, and their hands very much blistered. When we picked them up, there was a strong breeze blowing off the land, so that there cannot be a doubt, had not Providence sent us to their assistance, they must have perished. I kept the boys on board two or three days, for the purpose of recruiting their strength, and then landed them with the punt, close to their village, to the great joy and wonder of their parents and countrymen.

On the first of July, we spoke a ship from Rochefort, the master of which gave information, that the frigates, in Aix-roads, had taken in their powder, and were in all respects ready to put to sea; also, that several

Digitized by Google

gentlemen in plain clothes, and some ladies, supposed to form part of Buonaparte's suite, had arrived at Isle d'Aix. In short, upon the whole, that there was little doubt of its being his intention to effect his escape, if possible, from that place, in the frigates. On receiving this information, I anchored the Bellerophon as close to the French squadron as the batteries would permit, kept guard-boats rowing all night, and prepared my ship's company for the description of action, in which I thought it was probable they would be engaged. I trained one hundred of the stoutest men, selecting them from the different stations in the ship; it being my intention, after firing into and silencing one frigate, to run the Bellerophon alongside of her; throw that party in, and then, leaving her in charge of the first lieutenant, to have proceeded in chase of the other.

His Majesty's ship Phœbe joined us this

Digitized by Google

evening, and brought with her the Bellerophon's barge. Captain Hillyar having orders to take a station off Bourdeaux, I recalled the Myrmidon from that service.

On the 7th of July, I received a letter from Sir Henry Hotham, together with fresh orders, from which the following are extracts :—

Extract of a letter from Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Quiberon Bay, July 6, 1815.

" It is impossible to tell which information respecting Buonaparte's flight may be correct; but, in the uncertainty, it is right to attach a certain degree of credit to all: that which I now act on, is received this morning, from the chief of the Royalists, between the Loire and the Vilaine.

Digitized by Google

"Although the force of the Bellerophon would be sufficient for the ships at Isle d'Aix, if they were to give you an opportunity of bringing them to action together, you cannot stop them both, if the frigates separate; I am, therefore, now anxious you should have a frigate with you: therefore if any of them should be with you, keep her for the time I have specified; but if you have no frigate, and this should be brought to you by a twenty-gun ship, keep her with you for the same time; she will do to keep sight of a French frigate, although she could not stop her.

"If this is delivered to you by Lord John Hay of the Opossum, do not detain him, as her force would be of no use to you, and I want him *particularly*, to examine vessels which sail from the Loire."

Digitized by Google

Extract of an Order from Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B.; addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Superb, Quiberon Bay, 6th July, 1815.

"HAVING this morning received information that it is believed Napoleon Buonaparte has taken his road from Paris for Rochefort, to embark from thence for the United States of America, I have to direct you will use your best endeavours to prevent him from making his escape in either of the frigates at Isle d'Aix; for which purpose you are, notwithstanding former orders, to keep any frigate which may be with you, at the time you receive this letter, in company with the ship you command, for the space of ten days, to enable you to intercept them in case they should put to sea together: but if you should have no frigate with you at the above time, you will keep the ship delivering this, (which will probably be the Slaney or Cyrus,) in company with the Bellerophon, ten

Digitized by Google

days, and then allow her to proceed in execution of the orders her Captain has received from me."

The Slaney brought the letter and order, parts of which are extracted above, and having no frigate in company, I detained her as part of the force under my command, though she was, on the 8th, sent down to the Mamusson passage, with orders for Captain Green of the Daphne, and did not return until the evening of the 11th.

On the 8th of July, I was joined by a chasse-marée bringing a letter from Sir Henry Hotham, part of which is as follows:—

Extract of a letter from Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Superb, Quiberon Bay, July 7, 1815.

"Having sent every ship and vessel out from this bay, to endeavour to intercept

Digitized by Google

Buonaparte, I am obliged to send the chasse marée, which has been employed in my communications with the Royalists, with this letter, to acquaint you that the Ferret brought me information last evening, after the Opossum had left me, from Lord Keith, that Government received, on the night of the 30th, an application from the rulers of France, for a passport and safe conduct for Buonaparte to America, which had been answered in the negative, and, therefore, directing an increase of vigilance to intercept him: but it remains quite uncertain where he will embark; and, although it would appear by the measures adopted at home, that it is expected he will sail from one of the northern ports, I am of opinion he will go from one of the southern places, and I think the information I sent you yesterday by the Opossum is very likely to be correct; namely, that he had taken the road to Rochefort; and that he will probably

Digitized by Google

embark in the frigates at Isle d'Aix; for which reason I am very anxious you should have force enough to stop them both, as the Bellerophon could only take one, if they separated, and that might not be the one he would be on board of. I have no frigate to send you; if one should join me in time, I will send her to you, and I hope you will have *two* twenty-gun ships with you. I imagine, from what you said in your letter by your barge, that you would not have kept the Endymion with you, especially as the Myrmidon would have rejoined you, by the arrangements I sent down by the Phœbe for Sir John Sinclair to take her place off the Mamusson; therefore, I trust that my last order to Captain Hope will not have deprived you of his assistance, but hope it may have put him in a better situation than before. The Liffey is seventy or eighty miles west from Bourdeaux, and the Pactolus, after landing some person in the Gironde,

Digitized by Google

goes off Cape Finisterre, where the Swiftsure is also gone; and many ships are looking out in the Channel and about the latitude of Ushant.

"Buonaparte is certainly not yet gone; I presume he would naturally await the answer from our Government, which only left London on the 1st; my own opinion is, that he will either go with a force that will afford him some kind of security, or in a merchant vessel to avoid suspicion.

"The orders from the Admiralty, received last evening, are, that the ships which are looking out for him, should remain on that service *till further orders, or till they know he is taken*, and not regard the time of ten days or a fortnight, which they first named: therefore you will govern yourself by that, and keep any ship you have with you till one of those events occurs, without attending,

Digitized by Google

to the ten days I specified in my letter to you by the Opossum yesterday, and make the same known to any ship you may communicate with. The information you sent me, which had been transmitted to you from Bourdeaux, is now proved to have been erroneous, by our knowing that Buonaparte was at Paris as late as the 30th of June, and that paper must have been written on the 29th, as you received it on the 30th. The Eridanus will not rejoin you; she has been stationed, by Lord Keith, off Brest."

"Let me know by the return of the chasse-marée, particularly, what ships you have with you, and where the other ships are, as far as you know, and what position you keep in. If you had ships enough to guard Basque roads, and the Channel between Isle d'Oleron and the long sand (where a frigate may pass), you would be sure of keeping them in, by anchoring; but

Digitized by Google

that would afford you little chance of taking Buonaparte, which is the thing to be desired; therefore I think you would be better off the light-house, where I dare say you keep yourself; and on that particular subject I do not think it necessary to give you any instructions, as I depend on your using the best means that can be adopted to intercept the fugitive; on whose captivity the repose of Europe appears to depend. If he should be taken, he is to be brought to me in this bay, as I have orders for his disposal; he is to be removed from the ship in which he may be found, to one of his Majesty's ships."

Nothing of consequence occurred on the 9th; but on the 10th of July, at day-light, the officer of the watch informed me that a small schooner was standing out from the French squadron towards the ship: upon which I ordered every thing to be ready for making sail in chace, supposing she might be sent

Digitized by Google

for the purpose of reconnoitring. On approaching, she hoisted a flag of truce, and joined us at seven A. M. She proved to be the Mouche, tender to the ships of war at Isle d'Aix, and had on board, General Savary Duc de Rovigo, and Count Las Cases, chamberlain to Buonaparte, charged with a letter from Count Bertrand (Grand Marechal de Palais) addressed to the Admiral commanding the British Cruisers before the port of Rochefort.

Soon after the Mouche arrived, I was joined by the Falmouth, bringing me a letter and secret orders from Sir Henry Hotham, some extracts from which I shall insert for the better understanding what follows, previous to entering into what passed with Buonaparte's attendants.

Digitized by Google

Extract of a letter from Rear Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon; not dated, but must have been written on the 8th of July, 1815.

"I sent a chasse marée to you yesterday with a letter, and you will now receive by the Falmouth, officially, the orders which I therein made you acquainted with.

"I send you four late and very interesting French papers, by which you will see all that has been done and said on the subject of providing for Buonaparte's escape from France: you will see that the Minister of the Marine had been directed to prepare ships of war for that purpose; that they were placed at Buonaparte's disposal; and that two frigates in particular had been provided for him: also that it was announced to the two Chambers, that he left Paris at four o'clock on the 29th; likewise that it was

Digitized by Google

believed in Paris, he had taken the road by Orleans to Rochefort; and I have no doubt that the two frigates at Isle d'Aix are intended for him, and I hope you will think so too, and I am sure you will use your utmost endeavours to intercept him. I am sorry I have not a frigate to send you; I have literally none but the Endymion under my orders. Captain Paterson is off Brest, by Lord Keith's order; and the Phœbe is also ordered to that station, when the Hebrus arrives off the Gironde.

"The attention at home appears to be paid chiefly to the ports in the Channel, but I have received no additional means whatever to guard those of the Bay. I have long been expecting a frigate from the Irish station, but none has yet appeared; and I have written to Lord Keith for two frigates; but they cannot join me in time, I fear."

Digitized by Google

Extract of an order from Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated H. M. S. Superb, Quiberon Bay, 8th July, 1815.

"The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having every reason to believe that Napoleon Buonaparte meditates his escape, with his family, from France to America, you are hereby required and directed, in pursuance of orders from their Lordships, signified to me by Admiral the Right Honorable Viscount Keith, to keep the most vigilant look-out for the purpose of intercepting him; and to make the strictest search of any vessel you may fall in with; and if you should be so fortunate as to intercept him, you are to transfer him and his family to the ship you command, and there keeping him in careful custody, return to the nearest port in England (going into Torbay in preference to Plymouth) with all possible ex-

Digitized by Google

pedition; and on your arrival you are not to permit any communication whatever with the shore, except as herein after directed; and you will be held responsible for keeping the whole transaction a profound secret, until you receive their Lordships' further orders.

"In case you should arrive at a port where there is a flag-officer, you are to send to acquaint him with the circumstances, strictly charging the officer sent on shore with your letter, not to divulge its contents: and if there should be no flag-officer at the port where you arrive, you are to send one letter express to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and another to Admiral Lord Keith, with strict injunctions of secrecy to each officer who may be the bearer of them."

Messrs. Savary and Las Cases, who came on board, from the Schooner above-mention-

Digitized by Google

ed, at seven o'clock on the 10th of July, presented the following letter to me :—

"Le 9 Juillet, 1815.

" Monsieur l'Amiral,

" L'Empereur Napoléon ayant abdiqué le pouvoir, et choisi les États Unis d'Amérique pour s'y refugier, s'est embarqué sur les deux frégates qui sont dans cette rade, pour se rendre à sa destination. Il attend le sauf conduit du Gouvernement Anglais, qu'on lui a annoncé, et qui me porte à expédier le présent parlementaire, pour vous demander, Mons. l'Amiral, si vous avez connoissance du dit sauf conduit; ou si vous pensez qu'il soit dans l'intention du Gouvernement Anglais de se mettre de l'empêchement à notre voyage aux États Unis. Je vous serai extrêmement obligé de me donner la-dessus les renseignemens que vous pouvez avoir.

" Je charge les porteurs de la présente

Digitized by Google

lettre de vous faire agréer mes remercîmens et mes excuses, pour la peine qu'elle a pu vous donner."

" J'ai l'honneur d'être,
Monsieur l'Amiral,
de Votre Excellence, &c. &c.
Le Grand Maréchal Ct^e. BERTRAND."

" A Monsieur l'Amiral commandant
les Croisières avant Rochefort."

TRANSLATION.

" SIR,

"The Emperor Napoleon having abdicated the throne of France, and chosen the United States of America as a retreat, is, with his suite, at present embarked on board the two frigates which are in this port, for the purpose of proceeding to his destination. He expects a passport from the British Government, which has been promised to him, and which induces me to send the present flag of truce, to demand of you, Sir, if you

Digitized by Google

have any knowledge of the above-mentioned passport, or if you think it is the intention of the British Government to throw any impediment in the way of our voyage to the United States. I shall feel much obliged by your giving me any information you may possess on the subject.

"I have directed the bearers of this letter to present to you my thanks, and to apologize for the trouble it may cause.

"I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient, &c. &c.
Grand Marshal Count BERTRAND."

"To the Admiral commanding the
Squadron before Rochefort."

The bearers of the letter had instructions to demand of me, whether I would prevent Buonaparte from proceeding in a neutral vessel, provided I could not permit the frigates to pass with him on board. Having received,

Digitized by Google

in my orders, the strictest injunctions to secrecy, and feeling that the force on the coast, at my disposal, was insufficient to guard the different ports and passages from which an escape might be effected, particularly should the plan be adopted of putting to sea in a small vessel; I wrote the following reply to the above communication; hoping, by that means, to induce Napoleon to remain for the Admiral's answer, which would give time for the arrival of reinforcements.

"H. M. S. Bellerophon,
off Rochefort, July 10th, 1815.

"Sir,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, addressed to the Admiral commanding the English cruisers before Rochefort, acquainting me that the Emperor, having abdicated the throne of France, and chosen the United States of America as an asylum, is now embarked on

Digitized by Google

board the frigates, to proceed for that destination, and awaits a passport from the English Government; and requesting to know if I have any knowledge of such passport; or if I think it is the intention of the English Government to prevent the Emperor's voyage.

"In reply, I have to acquaint you, that I cannot say what the intentions of my Government may be; but, the two countries being at present in a state of war, it is impossible for me to permit any ship of war to put to sea from the port of Rochefort.

"As to the proposal made by the Duc de Rovigo and Count Las Cases, of allowing the Emperor to proceed in a merchant vessel; it is out of my power,—without the sanction of my commanding officer, Sir Henry Hotham, who is at present in Quiberon Bay, and to whom I have forwarded your despatch,—to

Digitized by Google

allow any vessel, under whatever flag she may be, to pass with a personage of such consequence.

"I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

FRED. L. MAITLAND,

Captain of H. M. S. Bellerophon."

"Le Grand Marechal
Comte Bertrand."

The Duke of Rovigo and Count Las Cases remained on board between two and three hours, during which time I had a great deal of conversation with them, on the state of affairs in France; in which they did all they could to impress me with the idea that Buonaparte was not reduced to the necessity of quitting Europe; but that, in doing so, he was actuated solely by motives of humanity; being unwilling, they said, that any further effusion of blood should take place on his account. They declared also, that his party

Digitized by Google

was still very formidable in the centre and south of France, and that, if he chose to protract the war, he might still give a great deal of trouble; and that, although his ultimate success might not be probable, there was still a possibility of fortune turning in his favour, and therefore they argued it was the interest of England to allow him to proceed to America. To all this I could give little or no reply, being quite ignorant of what had occurred in France, further than the decisive victory obtained by the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo. During the time the Frenchmen were with me, I received some French newspapers from Sir Henry Hotham; but my time was so fully occupied in writing to him, and in discussions with my visitors, that it was not in my power to read them: I therefore drew them back to the subject that had occasioned their visit, and said, "Supposing the British Govern-

Digitized by Google

ment should be induced to grant a passport for Buonaparte's going to America, what pledge could he give that he would not return, and put England, as well as all Europe, to the same expense of blood and treasure that has just been incurred ?"

General Savary made the following reply : " When the Emperor first abdicated the throne of France, his removal was brought about by a faction, at the head of which was Talleyrand, and the sense of the nation was not consulted : but in the present instance he has voluntarily resigned the power. The influence he once had over the French people is past ; a very considerable change has taken place in their sentiments towards him, since he went to Elba ; and he could never regain the power he had over their minds : therefore he would prefer retiring into obscurity, where he might end his days in peace and tranquillity ; and were

Digitized by Google

he solicited to ascend the throne again, he would decline it."

"If that is the case," I said, "why not ask an asylum in England?" He answered, "There are many reasons for his not wishing to reside in England: the climate is too damp and cold; it is too near France; he would be, as it were, in the centre of every change and revolution that might take place there, and would be subject to suspicion; he has been accustomed to consider the English as his most inveterate enemies, and they have been induced to look upon him as a monster, without one of the virtues of a human being."

This conversation took place while I was writing my despatches to Sir Henry Hotham; and the Frenchmen were walking in the cabin, frequently interrupting me, to enforce their statement of Buonaparte's situ-

Digitized by Google

ation being by no means so desperate as might be supposed; from which I took the liberty of drawing a conclusion directly opposite to the one they were desirous of impressing on my mind.

Captain Knight, of the Falmouth, who carried my despatches to the Admiral, was present during the whole of this conversation, but did not join in it. This was the first certain information I had received of Buonaparte's position since the battle of Waterloo.

Tuesday, the 11th.—About noon, a small boat came off from the Island of Oleron, to where the ship was at anchor in Basque Roads, rowed by four men, in which sat two respectable-looking countrymen, who asked for the Captain; and upon my being pointed out to them, requested to speak with me in private. When shown into the cabin,

Digitized by Google

where I went accompanied by Captain Gambier, of the Myrmidon, they acquainted me, that a message had been sent from Isle d'Aix, early that morning, for a man who was considered the best pilot on the island for the Mamusson passage, being the only person that had ever taken a frigate through; that a large sum of money had been offered to him to pilot a vessel to sea from that passage, and that it certainly was Buonaparte's intention to escape from thence; either in the corvette, which had moved down some days before, or in a Danish brig, which was then lying at anchor near the entrance.

On receiving this information, I immediately got under weigh, and though the flood-tide had just made in, beat the ships out of the Pertuis d'Antioche before it was dark, when I sent the Myrmidon off the Mamusson, with orders to anchor close in

Digitized by Google

with the entrance, when the weather would admit of it; while I remained with the Bellerophon and Slaney, which rejoined me that evening, under weigh between the light-houses.

On the 12th of July, the Cyrus being seen in the offing, I ordered her by telegraph to take a position close in with the Baleine light-house, and to examine strictly every vessel that might attempt to put to sea from the Pertuis de Breton, as Buonaparte was on the spot, endeavouring to escape to America.

The same evening, the white flag made its appearance for the first time on the towers of Rochelle; on seeing which, I felt it my duty to run into Basque Roads, accompanied by the Slaney; and having anchored, I hoisted the Bourbon colours at the main-top-gallant mast-head, and fired a royal salute.

Digitized by Google

During the whole of this afternoon, however, two tri-coloured flags were kept flying in Rochelle; and before sun-set all the white flags were struck, and every where replaced by those of Buonaparte.

On the 13th of July, nothing of importance occurred, except the white flag being once more hoisted all over Rochelle, as well as on the Isle of Oleron, to the entire exclusion of the tri-coloured ensign. We could plainly perceive, that the frigates, from whom we were distant about three miles, were perfectly ready to put to sea, should an opportunity offer; having their sterns covered with vegetables, their top-gallant yards across, studding sail gear rove, and numerous boats passing between them and the island the whole day:—all indications, well known to professional men, of preparing for sea.

The ships under my command were ac-

Digitized by Google

cordingly kept with slip buoys on their cables, and, as soon as it was dark, the top-sail and top-gallant yards were swayed to the mast-heads, the sails stopt with rope yarns, and every thing kept ready to make sail at a moment's warning. Guard-boats were also kept rowing all night, as near the frigates as they could venture, having signals established to show in the event of the enemy getting under sail.

On the 14th of July, at day-break, the officer of the watch informed me, that the Mouche was standing out from Isle d'Aix, bearing a flag of truce, which I ordered to be accepted. Here it is necessary to mention, that the British flag of truce, being a white flag at the foretop-gallant mast-head, which was also hoisted as a matter of course when Buonaparte was received on board, has by some persons been construed into the Bourbon flag, and thence

Digitized by Google

into an intentional insult to him. It never was my intention, nor do I believe it could have been that of any British officer, to treat with insult any fallen enemy, much less one who had shown such confidence as to throw himself on the protection of his former foe.

When the schooner, the Mouche, reached the ship, Count Las Cases came on board, attended by General Count Lallemand. This meeting was highly interesting to me, as Lallemand had been a prisoner for three weeks in the Camelion under my command in Egypt, with Junot, whose Aid-de-Camp he then was; and General Savary, who accompanied Count Las Cases in his first visit to the Bellerophon, had lived nearly as long at Sir Sydney Smith's table with me, at the Turkish camp at El Arish, when the convention, which takes its name from that place, was under discussion, being

Digitized by Google

Aid-de-Camp to General Dessaix, who negotiated on the part of the French.

On their coming on board, I made the signal for the Captain of the Slaney, being desirous of having a witness to any conversation that might pass, as our communications were chiefly verbal: he arrived while we were at breakfast.

When Count Las Cases came on the quarter-deck, he informed me that he was sent off to learn whether I had received an answer from the Admiral to the letter he had brought off on the 10th instant. I told him that I had not, but, in consequence of the despatch which I had forwarded to him, I had not a doubt he would immediately repair here in person, and I was hourly in expectation of seeing him, adding, "If that was the only reason you had for sending off a flag of truce, it was quite

Digitized by Google

unnecessary, as I informed you, when last here, that the Admiral's answer, when it arrived, should be forwarded to the frigates by one of the Bellerophon's boats; and I do not approve of frequent communications with an enemy by means of flags of truce." I then went into the cabin and ordered breakfast, to prevent further discussion until the arrival of Captain Sartorius.

When breakfast was over, we retired to the after-cabin. Count Las Cases then said, "The Emperor is so anxious to spare the further effusion of human blood, that he will proceed to America in any way the British Government chooses to sanction, either in a French ship of war, a vessel armed *en flute*, a merchant vessel, or even in a British ship of war." To this I answered, "I have no authority to agree to any arrangement of that sort, nor do I believe my Government would consent to it; but I think I may ven-

Digitized by Google

ture to receive him into this ship, and convey him to England: if, however," I added, "he adopts that plan, I cannot enter into any promise, as to the reception he may meet with, as, even in the case I have mentioned, I shall be acting on my own responsibility, and cannot be sure that it would meet with the approbation of the British Government."

There was a great deal of conversation on this subject, in the course of which Lucien Buonaparte's name was mentioned, and the manner in which he had lived in England alluded to; but I invariably assured Las Cases most explicitly, that I had no authority to make conditions of any sort, as to Napoleon's reception in England. In fact, I could not have done otherwise, since, with the exception of the order inserted at page 25, I had no instructions for my guidance, and was, of course, in total ignorance of the intention of His Majesty's ministers as to

Digitized by Google

his future disposal. One of the last observations Las Cases made before quitting the ship was, "Under all circumstances, I have little doubt that you will see the Emperor on board the Bellerophon;" and, in fact, Buonaparte must have determined on that step before Las Cases came on board, as his letter to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent is dated the 13th of July, the day before this conversation.

During the above-mentioned conversation, I asked Las Cases where Buonaparte then was? he replied, "At Rochefort; I left him there yesterday evening." General Lallemand then said, "The Emperor lives at the Hotel in the Grand Place, and is now so popular there, that the inhabitants assemble every evening in front of the house, for the purpose of seeing him, and crying, 'Vive l'Empereur!'"

Digitized by Google

I then asked how long it would take to go there: Las Cases answered, "As the tide will be against us, it will require five or six hours." Why these false statements were made, I cannot pretend to say; but it is very certain that Buonaparte never quitted the frigates or Isle d'Aix, after his arrival there on the 3d of July.

General Lallemand took occasion to ask me if I thought there would be any risk of the people, who might accompany Buonaparte, being given up to the Government of France: I replied, "Certainly not; the British Government never could think of doing so, under the circumstances contemplated in the present arrangement."

They left me about half-past nine A. M. In the course of the day, I was joined by the Myrmidon, Captain Gambier, who had been sent to me by Captain Green, of the

Digitized by Google

Daphne, with a letter he had received from Captain Aylmer, of the Pactolus, in the Gironde, bringing information that it was the intention of Buonaparte to escape from Rochefort in a Danish sloop, concealed in a cask stowed in the ballast, with tubes so constructed as to convey air for his breathing. I afterwards inquired of General Savary, if there had been any foundation for such a report; when he informed me that the plan had been thought of, and the vessel in some measure prepared; but it was considered too hazardous; for had we detained the vessel for a day or two, he would have been obliged to make his situation known, and thereby forfeited all claims to the good treatment he hoped to ensure by a voluntary surrender.

The two Captains dined with me, and afterwards went on board the Myrmidon, to take up a position to the north-east of the

Digitized by Google

Bellerophon, to prevent vessels from passing close in shore, and thus to render the blockade of the port more complete.

Soon after they left me, a barge was perceived rowing off from the frigates towards the Bellerophon with a flag-of-truce up; on which I recalled Captains Sartorius and Gambier, by signal, that they might be present at any communication that was to be made. The boat got along-side about seven P. M. and brought Count Las Cases, accompanied by General Baron Gourgaud, one of Buonaparte's Aid-de-Camps. On their coming on deck, I immediately addressed Las Cases, saying, "It is impossible you could have been at Rochefort, and returned, since you left me this morning." He replied, "No; it was not necessary; I found the Emperor at Isle d'Aix, on my arrival there." He then told me, he was charged with a letter from General Bertrand. We walked into the cabin, when he delivered it to me; it was as follows.

Digitized by Google

"Le 14 Juillet, 1815.

" Monsieur le Commandant,

" Monsieur le Comte de Las Cases a rendu compte à l'Empereur de la conversation qu'il à eue ce matin à votre bord. S. M. se rendra à la marée de demain, vers quatre ou cinq heures du matin, à bord de votre vaisseau. Je vous envoye Monsieur le Comte de Las Cases, Conseiller d'Etât, faisant fonction de Maréchal de Logis, avec la liste des personnes composant la suite de S. M. Si l'Amiral, en conséquence de la demande que vous lui avez adressée, vous envoye le sauf conduit demandé pour les Etâts Unis, S. M. s'y rendra avec plaisir; mais au défaut du sauf conduit, il se rendra volontiers en Angleterre, comme simple particulier, pour y jouir de la protection des loix de votre pays.

" S. M. a expédié Monsieur le Maréchal de Camp Baron Gourgaud auprès du

Digitized by Google

Prince Régent, avec une lettre, dont j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer copie, vous priant de la faire passer au Ministre auquel vous croyez nécessaire d'envoyer cet officier général, afin qu'il ait l'honneur de remettre au Prince Régent la lettre dont il est chargé.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur le Commandant,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

Le Grand Maréchal,

COMTE BERTRAND."

"A Monsieur le Commandant
des Croisières devant Rochefort."

TRANSLATION.

"SIR,

"Count Las Cases has reported to the Emperor the conversation which he had with you this morning. His Majesty will proceed on board your ship with the ebb tide to-morrow morning, between four and five o'clock.

Digitized by Google

"I send the Count Las Cases, Counsellor of State, doing the duty of Marechal de Logis, with the list of persons composing His Majesty's suite.

"If the Admiral, in consequence of the despatch you forwarded to him, should send the passport for the United States therein demanded, His Majesty will be happy to repair to America; but should the passport be withheld, he will willingly proceed to England, as a private individual, there to enjoy the protection of the laws of your country.

"His Majesty has despatched Major General Baron Gourgaud to the Prince Regent with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, requesting that you will forward it to such one of the ministers as you may think it necessary to send that general officer, that he may have the honour

Digitized by Google

of delivering the letter with which he is charged to the Prince Regent.

"I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

COUNT BERTRAND."

"To the Officer commanding the
Cruizers off Rochefort."

List of persons composing the suite of Napoleon Buonaparte, enclosed in the above Letter, and the manner in which they were distributed during the passage to England.

BELLEROPHON.

Généraux.

Le Lieutenant Général Comte Bertrand, Gd. Maréchal.

Le Lieutenant Général Duc de Rovigo.

Le Lieutenant Général Baron Lallemand Aide de Camp de S. M.

Le Maréchal de Camp Comte de Montholon Aide de Camp de S. M.

Le Comte de Las Cases Conseiller d'Etat.

Digitized by Google

Dames.

Madame la Comtesse Bertrand.

Madame la Comtesse de Montholon.

Enfans.

3 Enfans de Madame la Comtesse Bertrand.

1 Enfant de Madame la Comtesse de Montholon.

Officiers.

M. de Planat, Lieutenant-Colonel.

M. Maingaut, Chirurgien de S. M.

M. Las Cases, Page.

Service de la Chambre.

M. M. Marchand - -	1 Valet de Chambre.
Gilli - - - -	Valet de Chambre.
St. Dennis - - -	Valet de Chambre.
Novarra - - -	Idem.
Denis - - - -	Garcon de Garderobe.

Livrée.

Archambaud - - -	1 Valet de pied.
Gaudron - - -	Valet de pied.
Gentilini - - -	Id.

Digitized by Google

Service de la Bouche.

M.M. Fontain - -	1 Maître d'Hôtel.
Piéron - - - -	Chef d'Office.
La Fosse - - -	Cuisinier.
Le Page - - -	Idem.

2 Femmes de Chambre de Madame la Comtesse Bertrand.

1 Femme de Chambre de Madame la Comtesse de Montholon.

Suite des personnes qui accompagnent S. M.

1 Valet de Chambre -	du Duc de Rovigo.
1 do. - - - -	du Comte Bertrand.
1 do. - - - -	du Comte de Montholon.
1 Valet de pied - -	du Comte Bertrand.

Total 7.

Recapitulation.

Généraux - - -	5
Dames - -	2
Enfans - - -	4
Officiers - - -	3
Service de la Chambre de S. M. -	5
Livrée de S. M. - -	3
Service de la Bouche - -	4
Suite des personnes qui accompagnent S. M.	7
Total -	33

Digitized by Google

La Corvette.

Officiers.

Le Lieutenant Colonel -	Resigni.
Le Lieutenant Colonel -	Schultz.
Le Capitaine - -	Autrie.
Le Capitaine - -	Mesener.
Le Capitaine - -	Prontdowski.
Le Lieutenant - -	Rivière.
Le Sous Lieutenant -	Ste Catherine.

Suite de S. M.

Capriani - -	Maître d'Hôtel.
Santini - -	Huissier.
Chauvin - -	Id.
Rousseau - - -	Lampiste.
Archambaud - -	Valet de pied.
Joseph - -	Id.
Le Charron - -	Id.
Lisiaux - -	Garde d'Office.
Ortini - - -	Valet de pied.
Fumeau - -	Idem.

Recapitulation.

Officiers - - -	7
Suite - - -	10
Total -	17

Digitized by Google

Enclosed was likewise a copy of the well-known letter addressed by Buonaparte to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

"Altesse Royal,

"En butte aux factions qui divisent mon pays et à l'inimitié des plus grandes puissances de l'Europe, J'ai terminé ma carrière politique, et je viens comme Thémistocle m'asseoir sur le foyer du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses loix, que je réclame de votre Altesse Royal, comme au plus puissant, au plus constant, et au plus généreux de mes Ennemis."

"Rochefort, 13 Juillet, 1815,

"Signé, NAPOLEON."

TRANSLATION.

"Rochefort, July 13th, 1815.

"Your Royal Highness,

"A victim to the factions which distract

Digitized by Google

my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws; which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

On reading the above, I told Monsieur Las Cases that I would receive Buonaparte on board, and immediately forward General Gourgaud to England by the Slaney, along with my despatches to the Admiralty; but that he would not be allowed to land until permission was received from London, or the sanction of the Admiral at the port he might arrive at obtained. I assured him, however, that the copy of the letter with which he was charged would be forwarded

Digitized by Google

without loss of time, and presented by the ministers to his Royal Highness. Count Las Cases then asked for paper, that he might communicate by letter to Bertrand my acquiescence in the proposal he had brought, for my receiving, and conveying to England, Buonaparte and his suite.

When General Gourgaud was about to write the letter, to prevent any future misunderstanding, I said, "Monsieur Las Cases, you will recollect that I am not authorized to stipulate as to the reception of Buonaparte in England, but that he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent." He answered, "I am perfectly aware of that, and have already acquainted the Emperor with what you said on the subject."

It might, perhaps, have been better if this declaration had been given in an official

Digitized by Google

written form; and could I have foreseen the discussions which afterwards took place, and which will appear in the sequel, I undoubtedly should have done so; but as I repeatedly made it in the presence of witnesses, it did not occur to me as being necessary; and how could a stronger proof be adduced, that no stipulations were agreed to respecting the reception of Buonaparte in England, than the fact of their not being reduced to writing? which certainly would have been the case had any favourable terms been demanded on the part of Monsieur Las Cases, and agreed to by me.

The French boat was soon after despatched with the letter to Bertrand, in charge of a French naval officer, who had attended Las Cases on board; and as soon as I had finished the following despatch to the Secretary of the Admiralty, I sent Captain Sartorius, of the Slaney, to England, accompanied by General Gourgaud.

Digitized by Google

Extract of a Letter from Captain Maitland, of His Majesty's ship Bellerophon, addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated in Basque Roads, 14th July, 1815.

"For the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I have to acquaint you that the Count Las Cases and General Lallemand this day came on board His Majesty's ship under my command, with a proposal from Count Bertrand for me to receive on board Napoleon Buonaparte, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of the Prince Regent. Conceiving myself authorized by their Lordships' secret order, I have acceded to the proposal, and he is to embark on board this ship to-morrow morning. That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to Count Las Cases, that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort, but that all I can do is to carry him and his suite to England, to be received

Digitized by Google

in such manner as his Royal Highness may deem expedient.

"At Napoleon Buonaparte's request, and that their Lordships may be in possession of the transaction at as early a period as possible, I despatch the Slaney (with General Gourgaud, his Aid de Camp), directing Captain Sartorius to put into the nearest port, and forward this letter by his first Lieutenant, and shall in compliance with their Lordships' orders proceed to Torbay, to await such directions as the Admiralty may think proper to give.

"Enclosed, I transmit a copy of the letter with which General Gourgaud is charged, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and request that you will acquaint their Lordships, that the General informs me, he is entrusted with further particulars, which he is anxious to communicate to his Royal Highness."

Digitized by Google

When these gentlemen had left the ship, as well as the Saale's barge, I said to Monsieur Las Cases, I propose dividing the after-cabin in two, that the ladies may have the use of one part of it. "If you allow me to give an opinion," said he, "the Emperor will be better pleased to have the whole of the after-cabin to himself, as he is fond of walking about, and will by that means be able to take more exercise." I answered, "As it is my wish to treat him with every possible consideration while he is on board the ship I command, I shall make any arrangement you think will be most agreeable to him."

This is the only conversation that ever passed on the subject of the cabin; and I am the more particular in stating it, as Buonaparte has been described, in some of the public Journals, as having taken possession of it in a most brutal way, saying, "Tout ou rien pour moi:"—all or nothing for me.

Digitized by Google

I here therefore, once for all, beg to state most distinctly, that, from the time of his coming on board my ship, to the period of his quitting her, his conduct was invariably that of a gentleman; and in no one instance do I recollect him to have made use of a rude expression, or to have been guilty of any kind of ill-breeding.

As the ship had for some time been kept clear for action, with all the bulkheads down, it became necessary to prepare for the reception of so many guests, by putting the cabins up again: in consequence of making the requisite arrangements, it was past one o'clock in the morning before I could get to bed. About ten at night, the officer of the watch informed me that a boat from the shore had asked permission to come alongside. A man being allowed to come on board from her; "I am sent off from Rochelle," said he, "to inform you that Buo-

Digitized by Google

naparte this morning passed that town in a chasse marée, with another in company, for the purpose of escaping to sea by the Pertuis Breton: he is now in that passage, and means to set sail this night." I told him, "that I doubted his information, having at that moment one of his attendants on board, who had come with a proposal for me to receive him into the ship. I then asked him how he came by his intelligence? He answered, "The vessels passed close to a boat that I was in; and I saw a man wrapt up in a sailor's great coat, whom one of the people with me asserted to be him: for my part, I am not acquainted with his appearance, never having seen him; but when the owner of the vessels attempted to go on board of them, he was kept off, and told that they were required for two or three days, when they would be restored with ample payment." He told his story so circumstantially, and with such confidence, that

Digitized by Google

I feared there must be grounds for what he stated; and the anxiety of my situation may be easily conceived, when it is recollected that I had sent off a ship to England with despatches, announcing the intention of Buonaparte to embark the following morning in the Bellerophon. After a little consideration, I determined to inform Las Cases abruptly of the intelligence I had received, and endeavour to judge by the effect it had on his countenance, whether there was any truth in the report or not. I accordingly went into the cabin and did so; he seemed perfectly calm and collected, saying, "Pray at what hour does your informant state the Emperor to have passed Rochelle?" "At ten A. M." "Then I can safely assert, on my honour, that he was not in either of those vessels. I left him at half past five this evening, when it was his full intention to come on board this ship to-morrow morning; what he may have done

Digitized by Google

since that hour, I cannot be responsible for." I answered, "As you give your word of honour that Buonaparte had not left Isle d'Aix when you quitted it, I shall trust to what you say, and take no steps in consequence of the information that has been brought to me, but conclude it has originated in some mistake."

About three in the morning, the officer of the watch awoke me, and said that another boat wished to come alongside. I rose and went upon deck immediately, and found that she brought the same intelligence from another quarter; and they both eventually proved correct, to a certain extent: for two chasse-marées, as I was afterwards informed, had been prepared, manned, and officered from the frigates, to be used as a last resource to attempt an escape in, in the event of Las Cases' mission to the Bellerophon not being successful; and they had actually

Digitized by Google

passed Rochelle, in their way to Pointeau d'Aguillon, at the hour specified, and were there to await his joining them should it prove necessary.*

After I had determined to abide by Las Cases' assurance, that Buonaparte had not quitted Isle d'Aix, I enquired of the person who brought off the information in the evening, "What was the state of Rochelle, and whether I might with safety send a boat

* Chasse-Marées are small decked vessels, rigged as luggers; they are generally from twenty to thirty-five tons burthen, and are used almost exclusively for the coasting trade of France. Though there is no doubt that, during the summer months, a vessel of this description might succeed in making the voyage to America; yet if we take into consideration the indolent habits that Buonaparte had of late years given way to; the very small space for the accommodation of himself and suite, and for the stowage of provisions, water, and other necessaries; that there was no friendly port he could have touched at, to gain supplies;—the utter impracticability of his reaching his destination in a vessel of that description, even if he had eluded the vigilance of our cruisers, will at once be evident to every one.

Digitized by Google

there to purchase refreshments?" as the white flag was then hoisted all over the town; he said, "he would not recommend it, as, though the towns-people were well inclined towards the Bourbon family, the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were all attached to Buonaparte; but if he were once on board the ship, there would be no risk in doing so, as their fear of his meeting with bad treatment would keep the soldiers in awe."

At break of day, on the 15th of July, 1815, l'Epervier French brig of war was discovered under sail, standing out towards the ship, with a flag of truce up; and at the same time the Superb, bearing Sir Henry Hotham's flag, was seen in the offing. By half-past five the ebb-tide failed, the wind was blowing right in, and the brig, which was within a mile of us, made no further progress; while the Superb was advancing with the wind and

Digitized by Google

tide in her favour. Thus situated, and being most anxious to terminate the affair I had brought so near a conclusion, previous to the Admiral's arrival, I sent off Mr. Mott, the First Lieutenant, in the barge, who returned soon after six o'clock, bringing Napoleon with him.

On coming on board the Bellerophon, he was received without any of the honours generally paid to persons of high rank; the guard was drawn out on the break of the poop, but did not present arms. His Majesty's Government had merely given directions, in the event of his being captured, for his being removed into any one of his Majesty's ships that might fall in with him; but no instructions had been given as to the light in which he was to be viewed. As it is not customary, however, on board a British ship of war, to pay any such honours before the colours are hoisted at eight o'clock in the

Digitized by Google

morning, or after sunset, I made the early hour an excuse for withholding them upon this occasion.

Buonaparte's dress was an olive-coloured great coat over a green uniform, with scarlet cape and cuffs, green lapels turned back and edged with scarlet, skirts hooked back with bugle horns embroidered in gold; plain sugar-loaf buttons and gold epaulettes; being the uniform of the Chasseur à Cheval of the Imperial Guard. He wore the star, or grand cross of the Legion of Honour, and the small cross of that order; the Iron Crown; and the Union, appended to the button-hole of his left lapel. He had on a small cocked hat, with a tri-coloured cockade; plain gold-hilted sword, military boots, and white waistcoat and breeches. The following day he appeared in shoes, with gold buckles, and silk stockings—the dress he always wore afterwards, while with me.

Digitized by Google

On leaving the Epervier, he was cheered by her ship's company as long as the boat was within hearing; and Mr. Mott informed me that most of the officers and men had tears in their eyes.

General Bertrand came first up the ship's side, and said to me, "The Emperor is in the boat." He then ascended, and, when he came on the quarter-deck, pulled off his hat, and, addressing me in a firm tone of voice, said, "I am come to throw myself on the protection of your Prince and laws." When I showed him into the cabin, he looked round and said, "Une belle chambre," "This is a handsome cabin." I answered, "Such as it is, Sir, it is at your service while you remain on board the ship I command." He then looked at a portrait that was hanging up, and said, "Qui est cette jeune personne?" "Who is that young lady?" "My wife," I replied. "Ah! elle est très jeune et très

Digitized by Google

jolie," "Ah! she is both young and pretty."* He then asked what countrywoman she was, begged to know if I had any children, and put a number of questions respecting my country, and the service I had seen. He next requested I would send for the officers, and introduce them to him: which was done according to their rank. He asked several questions of each, as to the place of his birth, the situation he held in the ship, the length of time he had served, and the actions he had been in. He then expressed a desire to go round the ship; but, as the men had not done cleaning, I told him it was customary to clean the lower decks immediately after

* I have been induced to insert Buonaparte's observation on Mrs. M.'s portrait, as well as one he made on seeing her alongside of the Bellerophon in Plymouth Sound, as they show, in a strong point of view, a peculiar trait in his character; that of making a favourable impression on those with whom he conversed, by seizing every opportunity of saying what he considered would be pleasing and flattering to their feelings.

Digitized by Google

their breakfast, that they were then so employed, and, if he would defer visiting the ship until they had finished, he would see her to more advantage.

At this time I proposed to him to allow me to address him in English, as I had heard he understood that language, and I had considerable difficulty in expressing myself in French. He replied in French, "The thing is impossible; I hardly understand a word of your language:" and from the observations I had an opportunity of making afterwards, I am satisfied he made a correct statement, as, on looking into books or newspapers, he frequently asked the meaning of the most common word. He spoke his own language with a rapidity that at first made it difficult to follow him; and it was several days before I got so far accustomed to his manner of speaking, as to comprehend his meaning immediately.

Digitized by Google

In about a quarter of an hour, he again intimated a desire to go round the ship; and although I told him he would find the men rubbing and scouring, he persisted in his wish of seeing her in the state she then was. He accordingly went over all her decks, asking me many questions; more particularly about any thing that appeared to him different from what he had been accustomed to see in French ships of war. He seemed most struck with the cleanliness and neatness of the men, saying "that our seamen were surely a different class of people from the French; and that he thought it was owing to them we were always victorious at sea." I answered, "I must beg leave to differ with you: I do not wish to take from the merit of our men; but my own opinion is, that perhaps we owe our advantage to the superior experience of the officers; and I believe the French seamen, if taken as much pains with, would look as well as ours. As

Digitized by Google

British ships of war are constantly at sea, the officers have nothing to divert their attention from them and their men; and in consequence, not only is their appearance more attended to, but they are much better trained to the service they have to perform."

"I believe you are right," said he. He then went on to talk of several naval actions; adding, "Your laws are either more severe, or better administered, than ours; there are many instances of French officers having conducted themselves ill in battle, without my being able to punish them as they deserved:" among others, he mentioned the names of two naval officers; and speaking of one of them, said, "He ought to have suffered death, and I did all I could to bring it about, but he was tried by a French naval court-martial, which only dismissed him the service." I observed, "The laws appear sometimes to be administered with more

Digitized by Google

than sufficient severity. I commanded a frigate in the affair of Basque Roads; and in my opinion, the sentence of death on the Captain of the Calcutta was unjust: he could do no more to save his ship, and she was defended better and longer than any one there." He answered, "You are not aware of the circumstances that occasioned his condemnation; he was the first man to quit his ship, which was fought some time by her officers and crew after he had left her."

He next said, "I can see no sufficient reason why your ships should beat the French with so much ease. The finest men of war in your service are French; a French ship is heavier in every respect than one of yours, she carries more guns, those guns of a larger calibre, and has a great many more men." I replied, "I have already accounted for it to you, in the superior experience of our men and officers." "I understand," said

Digitized by Google

he, "from some Frenchmen who were on board your ship for several days,* that you take great pains in exercising your guns, and training your men to fire at a mark." I answered, "I did so, because I considered it of the greatest importance;" and I added, "that if the frigates had attempted to put to sea, he would probably have had an opportunity of seeing the effect of it." He asked me "if I thought two frigates, with four-and-twenty pounders on their main decks,† were a match for a seventy-four gun ship; and whether it was my opinion, if he had attempted to force a passage in the ships at Isle d'Aix, it would have been attended with

* They were part of the officers and crew of the Æneas store-ship, mentioned as having been detained on the 18th of June, who were on board the Bellerophon about a week, and were landed at Isle d'Aix, in a chasse marée, a few days before Buonaparte's arrival there.

† I was afterwards told, that one of the frigates, at Isle d'Aix, had changed her eighteen pounders for twenty-fours.

Digitized by Google

success." I replied, " that the fire of a two-deck ship was so much more compact, and carried such an immense weight of iron, in proportion to that of a frigate, and there was so much difficulty in bringing two or three ships to act with effect at the same time upon one, that I scarcely considered three frigates a match for one line-of-battle ship;—that, with respect to forcing a passage past the Bellerophon, it must have depended greatly on accident, but the chances were much against it; as the frigates would have had to beat out against the wind for three or four leagues, though a narrow passage, exposed to the fire of a seventy-four gun ship, which, from being to windward, would have had the power of taking the position most advantageous for herself." He then said, reverting to what had passed before about firing at marks, " You have a great advantage over France in your finances: I have long wished to introduce the use of powder

Digitized by Google

and shot in exercise; but the expense was too great for the country to bear." He examined the sights on the guns, and approved of them highly; asked the weight of metal on the different decks, disapproving of the mixture of different calibres on the quarter-deck and forecastle. I told him the long nines were placed in the way of the rigging, that they might carry the fire from the explosion clear of it, which a carronade would not do: he answered, "That may be necessary, but it must be attended with inconvenience." His enquiries were generally much to the purpose, and showed that he had given naval matters a good deal of consideration.

On seeing the additional supply of wads for each deck made up along with the shot-boxes, in the form of sophas, with neat canvass covers, he observed, "The French ships of war have all the preparations for

Digitized by Google

action that you have, but they have not the way of combining appearance with utility."

We had breakfast about nine o'clock, in the English style, consisting of tea, coffee, cold meat, &c. He did not eat much, or seem to relish it; and when, on enquiry, I found he was accustomed to have a hot meal in the morning, I immediately ordered my steward to allow his Maître d'Hotel to give directions, that he might invariably be served in the manner he had been used to; and after that we always lived in the French fashion, as far as I could effect that object.

During breakfast he asked many questions about English customs, saying, "I must now learn to conform myself to them, as I shall probably pass the remainder of my life in England."

Digitized by Google

The Superb, as I before observed, had been seen in the offing early in the morning, and was now approaching with a light breeze: he asked two or three times how soon she would anchor, seemed very anxious to know whether the Admiral would approve of my having received him; and when I went to wait on Sir Henry Hotham, requested I would say he was desirous of seeing him.

The Superb anchored about half past ten, and I immediately went on board, and gave the Admiral an account of all that had occurred, adding, "I trust I have done right, and that the Government will approve of my conduct, as I considered it of much importance to prevent Buonaparte's escape to America, and to get possession of his person." Sir Henry Hotham said, "Getting hold of him on any terms would have been of the greatest consequence; but as you have entered into no conditions whatever, there can-

Digitized by Google

not be a doubt that you will obtain the approbation of his Majesty's Government."

He then said, "How do you feel as to keeping him? would you like to part with him?" "Certainly not," was my answer: "as I have had all the anxiety and responsibility of conducting this matter to an issue, I am of course desirous of taking him to England; but, as I do not wish to keep him, or any man, in my ship against his will, if he desires to remove into another, I shall certainly not object."

I then delivered Buonaparte's message, that he was desirous of receiving a visit from the Admiral, who said he would wait upon him with much pleasure.

I soon after returned to the Bellerophon, and told Buonaparte that the Admiral meant to wait on him; upon which he desired Count Bertrand to go and pay his respects to Sir

Digitized by Google

Henry. I accompanied him, and while the Admiral was preparing for his visit, Captain Senhouse attended General Bertrand through the ship.

In the afternoon, Sir Henry Hotham, accompanied by Captain Senhouse, and Mr. Irving, his secretary, came on board the Bellerophon. They were introduced to Buonaparte by General Bertrand, in the after-cabin, where he had a good deal of conversation with them: he showed his portable library, which was laid out in small travelling cases round the cabin; asked various questions, principally relative to the discipline and regulation of our ships of war, and finally invited them all to remain to dinner.

Dinner was served about five o' clock upon Buonaparte's plate. This was arranged by his Maître d'Hotel, whom I had told to re-

Digitized by Google

gulate every thing in the manner most likely to be agreeable to his master.

When dinner was announced, Buonaparte, viewing himself as a Royal personage, which he continued to do while on board the Bellerophon, and which, under the circumstances, I considered it would have been both ungracious and uncalled for in me to have disputed, led the way into the dining-room. He seated himself in the centre at one side of the table, requesting Sir Henry Hotham to sit at his right hand, and Madame Bertrand on his left. For that day I sat as usual at the head of the table, but on the following day, and every other, whilst Buonaparte remained on board, I sat by his request at his right hand, and General Bertrand took the top. Two of the ward-room officers dined daily at the table, by invitation from Buonaparte, conveyed through Count Bertrand.

He conversed a great deal, and showed no

Digitized by Google

depression of spirits: among other things, he asked me where I was born. I told him in Scotland. "Have you any property there?" said he. "No, I am a younger brother, and they do not bestow much on people of that description in Scotland." Is your elder brother a Lord?" "No, Lord Lauderdale is the head of our family." "Ah! you are a relation of Lord Lauderdale's! he is an acquaintance of mine, he was sent Ambassador from your King to me, when Mr. Fox was Prime Minister: had Mr. Fox lived, it never would have come to this, but his death put an end to all hopes of peace. Milord Lauderdale est un bon garçon," adding, "I think you resemble him a little, though he is dark and you are fair."

When dinner was over, a cup of strong coffee was handed round; he then rose and went into the after-cabin, asking the Admiral and all the party to accompany him, the ladies among the rest. This was the only

Digitized by Google

time I ever saw them in the apartment in which he slept.

After some conversation, he said, in a cheerful and playful way, that he would show us his camp bed; and sent for Marchand, his premier valet de chambre, who received his order, and soon returned with two small packages in leather cases; one of which contained the bedstead, which was composed of steel, and, when packed up, was not above two feet long, and eighteen inches in circumference; the other contained the mattress and curtains, the latter of green silk. In three minutes the whole was put together, and formed a very elegant small bed, about thirty inches wide.

He then went out, and walked the quarter-deck for some time, and retired to his cabin about half-past seven o'clock. Soon after, when the Admiral was going to return to his ship, he proposed to Bertrand to take leave

Digitized by Google

of him. He went into the cabin, but returned immediately with an apology, saying he was undressed, and going to bed.

In the course of the afternoon, the Admiral invited Buonaparte, with the ladies and all his principal officers, to breakfast, the following day: which invitation was accepted, apparently, with much satisfaction.

When I went on deck, early the next morning, (the 16th of July) I observed that the Superb had the tompions out of her guns, and the man ropes on her yards, as if for the purpose of saluting and manning ships; and as I had received Buonaparte without even the guard presenting arms, I felt that he might conceive I had intentionally treated him with disrespect. I therefore sent the officer of the watch with my compliments to Sir Henry Hotham, and begged to know if it was his intention to salute Buonaparte on his going on board, and to receive him with

Digitized by Google

manned yards; and, if so, whether I was to do the same, on his quitting the Bellerophon. He sent for answer, that it was not his intention to salute, but he meant to man ship; that I was not to do so on his quitting the Bellerophon, but was at liberty to man yards on his return. I likewise received directions from the Admiral to hoist a signal, when the boat with his visitors was ready to leave the ship, that he might have time to make the necessary preparations.

About ten A. M. the barge was manned, and a captain's guard turned out. When Buonaparte came on deck, he looked at the marines, who were generally fine-looking young men, with much satisfaction; went through their ranks, inspected their arms, and admired their appearance, saying to Bertrand, "How much might be done with a hundred thousand such soldiers as these." He asked which had been longest in the corps; went up and spoke to him. His

Digitized by Google

questions were put in French, which I interpreted, as well as the man's answers. He enquired how many years he had served; on being told upwards of ten, he turned to me and said, "Is it not customary in your service, to give a man who has been in it so long some mark of distinction?" He was informed that the person in question had been a sergeant, but was reduced to the ranks for some misconduct. He then put the guard through part of their exercise, whilst I interpreted to the Captain of Marines, who did not understand French, the manœuvres he wished to have performed. He made some remarks upon the difference of the charge with the bayonet between our troops and the French; and found fault with our method of fixing the bayonet to the musquet, as being more easy to twist off, if seized by an enemy when in the act of charging.

On getting into the boat, he looked at the

Digitized by Google

barge's crew, and said, "What a very fine set of men you have got!" He then turned to Las Cases, who had come on board the ship in plain clothes, but now appeared in a naval uniform, and said jocularly, "Comment, Las Cases, vous êtes militaire?" "What, Las Cases, are you a military man? I have never till now seen you in uniform." He answered, "Please your Majesty, before the revolution I was a lieutenant in the navy; and as I think an uniform carries more consideration with it in a foreign country, I have adopted it."

His attention was now drawn to the men on the Superb's yards, as well as to the appearance of the ship, about which he made some observations, and asked several questions; among others, whether she was French or English; what her age was; the number of guns she carried, and the weight of metal on each deck.

Digitized by Google

On going along-side, General Bertrand went up and announced to the Admiral, that the Emperor, for they always gave him that title, was in the boat. He then went up, and was received by Sir Henry Hotham on the quarter-deck, where a captain's guard was turned out to him. He was immediately shown into the cabin, and, after looking round him, requested to have the officers presented, which was done; when he asked nearly the same questions of each, that he had put to those of the Bellerophon the day before. He then expressed a wish to go through the ship; and did so, accompanied by several of his own suite, the Admiral, Captain Senhouse, and myself. The men were drawn up at divisions, and every thing was in the nicest order. He appeared much pleased with all he saw, and drew many comparisons between French and English ships of war. On going through the wings and store-rooms, he said to General Savary,

Digitized by Google

" Our ships have nothing of this sort:" who answered, " All the new ones, built at Antwerp, were constructed on this plan." When he returned to the quarter-deck, he questioned the Admiral and myself very minutely, about the clothing and victualling of the seamen. It was then, on being told that all that department was under the charge of the purser, he said in a facetious way, " Je crois que c'est quelquefois chez vous, comme chez nous, le commissaire est un peu coquin." " I believe it happens sometimes with you, as it does with us, that the purser is a little of a rogue." This was addressed to the Admiral and me, with whom he was conversing, and not to the people, as has been represented; nor was there a man that could have understood it, as it was spoken in French, and not within their hearing. He asked to see the Chaplain, put a few questions to him as to the number of Catholics and foreigners in the ship, and

Digitized by Google

whether any of them spoke the French language. A Guernsey man was pointed out to him, but he had no conversation with him.

He was then shown into the cabin, where breakfast was prepared: during which meal he talked a good deal, but ate little, the breakfast being served in the English manner. I observed, during the whole time of breakfast, that Colonel Planat, who was much attached to him, and of whom Buonaparte always expressed himself in terms of affection, had tears running down his cheeks, and seemed greatly distressed at the situation of his master. And, from the opportunities I afterwards had of observing this young man's character, I feel convinced he had a strong personal attachment to Buonaparte;—and this, indeed, as far as I could judge, was the case also with all his other attendants, without exception.

Digitized by Google

On rising from the breakfast-table, the whole party went into the after-cabin, where a discussion took place about Buonaparte's horses and carriages, which had been left at Rochefort, and which he was desirous of having forwarded to England. I had formerly agreed, in the event of their arriving, to receive two carriages, and five or six horses, as many as the ship could conveniently stow; but as they had not come, the Admiral now consented to give a passport for a vessel to transport the whole of them, consisting of six carriages and forty-five horses: which was accordingly made out, and forwarded to Monsieur Philibert, the senior naval officer at Isle d'Aix, but I believe it was never acted upon.

We all returned to the Bellerophon about noon, when the ships present manned their yards, the boat was immediately hoisted in, and the ship got under weigh, in pur-

Digitized by Google

suance of orders from the Admiral, of which the following is an extract.

Extract of an Order from Rear Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B., addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Superb, in Basque Roads, July 15th, 1815.

"You are hereby required and directed to take the Myrmidon under your orders, and, putting on board her such persons composing a part of the suite of Napoleon Buonaparte as cannot be conveyed in the Bellerophon, you are to put to sea in H. M. S. under your command, in company with the Myrmidon, and make the best of your way with Napoleon Buonaparte and his suite to Torbay, and there landing the officer of the ship bearing my flag, whom I have charged with a despatch addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as an officer of the ship you command, for the purpose of proceeding express

Digitized by Google

to Plymouth with the despatch you will herewith receive, addressed to Admiral Lord Keith, and a copy of these instructions (which you will transmit to his Lordship,) await orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or his Lordship, for your further proceedings."

During the time we were heaving the anchor up, and setting the sails, Buonaparte remained on the break of the poop; and was very inquisitive about what was going on. He observed, "Your method of performing this manœuvre is quite different from the French;" and added, "What I admire most in your ship, is the extreme silence and orderly conduct of your men:—on board a French ship, every one calls and gives orders, and they gabble like so many geese." Previous to his quitting the Bellerophon he made the same remark, saying, "There has been less noise in this ship, where there

Digitized by Google

are six hundred men, during the whole of the time I have been in her, than there was on board the Epervier, with only one hundred, in the passage from Isle d'Aix to Basque Roads."

Soon after the ship was under weigh, the Mouche joined, with three or four sheep, a quantity of vegetables, and other refreshments,—a present from the French Commodore to Buonaparte. After receiving them on board, we made sail, accompanied by the Myrmidon, for England.

In working out, we passed within about a cable's length of the Superb. He asked me if I considered that was near enough for a naval engagement: I answered, that half the distance, or even less, would suit much better; as it was a maxim in our navy not to be further from our enemy than to give

Digitized by Google

room for working the yards, and manœuvring the ship.

He remained upon deck all the time the ship was beating out of the Pertuis d'Antioche. Having cleared the Chasseron shoal about six P. M., dinner was served. He conversed a great deal at table, and seemed in very good spirits; told several anecdotes of himself; among others, one relating to Sir Sydney Smith. Knowing that I had served under that officer on the coast of Syria, he turned to me and said, "Did Sir Sydney Smith ever tell you the cause of his quarrel with me?" I answered he had not. "Then," said he, "I will.—When the French army was before St. Jean d'Acre, he had a paper privately distributed among the officers and soldiers, tending to induce them to revolt and quit me; on which I issued a proclamation, denouncing the English commanding-officer as a madman, and prohibiting all in-

Digitized by Google

tercourse with him. This nettled Sir Sydney so much, that he sent me a challenge to meet him in single combat on the beach at Caiffa. My reply was, that when Marlborough appeared for that purpose, I should be at his service; but I had other duties to fulfil besides fighting a duel with an English commodore." He pursued the subject of Syria, and said, patting me (who was sitting next him) on the head; "If it had not been for you English, I should have been Emperor of the East; but wherever there is water to float a ship, we are sure to find you in our way."

During the 17th and 18th of July, the weather was very fine, and nothing of note occurred. Several strange vessels were seen, about which Buonaparte and his attendants were very inquisitive, in order, I presume, that they might judge whether they would probably have escaped or not, had they put

Digitized by Google

to sea. The only ship of war fallen in with on those days was the Bacchus sloop, which I pointed out; and at the same time informed him, that we had several frigates cruising in this position, for the purpose of intercepting him, had he got past the ships stationed close in with the land. This, as it afterwards appeared, was not the case: the Endymion having gone into the Gironde, the Liffey having sprung her bowsprit and returned to England, and the others, from various causes, having quitted the station; so that, had he passed the squadron off Rochefort, there can be little doubt he would have made his voyage in safety to America.

About this time, Buonaparte amused himself by playing at cards after breakfast: the game was *vingt-un*, in which all the party joined, except myself. He proposed that I should play with them, but I told him I had no money, making it a rule to leave it all

Digitized by Google

with my wife before I went to sea: on which he laughed, and good-humouredly offered to lend me some, and trust me until we arrived in England: I, however, declined his offer, having the numerous duties of the ship to attend to.

As my despatch of the 14th instant to the Secretary of the Admiralty had been very short, and written in great haste,—being desirous that his Majesty's Ministers should be made acquainted with the important arrangements agreed upon, as early as possible,—I considered it right to make a more detailed report to the Commander in Chief; and therefore wrote a despatch to Lord Keith, of which the following are extracts, intending to send it by the officer who should announce to him the Bellerophon's arrival in Torbay.

Digitized by Google

Extract of a Letter from Captain Maitland, addressed to Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. dated on board H. M. Ship Bellerophon, at sea, July 18th, 1815.

"Having received directions from Sir Henry Hotham to forward the accompanying despatch to your Lordship by an officer, I avail myself of the opportunity to explain the circumstances under which I was placed when induced to receive Napoleon Buonaparte into the ship I command.

"After the first communication was made to me by Count Bertrand (a copy of which, with my answer, has been forwarded to your Lordship by Sir Henry Hotham) that Buonaparte was at Isle d'Aix, and actually embarked on board the frigates for the purpose of proceeding to the United States of America, my duty became peculiarly harassing and anxious, owing to the numerous reports, that were daily brought from all quarters, of his intention to escape in

Digitized by Google

vessels of various descriptions, and from different situations on the coast, of which the limited means I possessed, together with the length of time requisite to communicate with Sir Henry Hotham at Quiberon Bay, rendered the success at least possible, and even probable. Thus situated, the enemy having two frigates and a brig, while the force under my command consisted of the Bellerophon and Slaney, (having detached the Myrmidon to reinforce the Daphne off the Mamusson passage, where the force was considerably superior to her, and whence one of the reports stated Buonaparte meant to sail,) another flag of truce was sent out, for the ostensible reason of enquiring whether I had received an answer to the former, but I soon ascertained the real one to be a proposal from Buonaparte to embark for England in this ship.

Digitized by Google

"Taking into consideration all the circumstances of the probability of the escape being effected, if the trial was made either in the frigates, or clandestinely in a small vessel, as, had this ship been disabled in action, there was no other with me that could produce any effect on a frigate, and from the experience I have had in blockading the ports of the bay, knowing the impossibility of preventing small vessels from getting to sea, and looking upon it as of the greatest importance to get possession of the person of Buonaparte; I was induced, without hesitation, to accede to the proposal, as far as taking him on board, and proceeding with him to England: but, at the same time, stating in the most clear and positive terms, that I had no authority to make any sort of stipulation as to the reception he was to meet with.

"I am happy to say, that the measures I have adopted have met with the approbation

Digitized by Google

of Sir Henry Hotham, and will, I trust and hope, receive that of your Lordship, as well as of his Majesty's Government."

On the 29th, a conversation took place between Madame Bertrand and myself, about Buonaparte's voyage to Elba. She asked me if I was acquainted with Captain Usher. On my answering in the negative, she said, "The Emperor is very fond of him: he gave him his portrait set with diamonds, and has another which he intends for you." I replied, "I hope not, as I cannot accept of it. Captain Usher's situation and mine were very different, and what might be proper in him would not be so in me." She rejoined, "If you do not accept of it, you will offend him very much." "If that is the case," I said, "I shall be obliged to you to take steps to prevent its being offered, as I wish to save him the mortification, and myself the pain, of a refusal; and I feel it absolutely impossible, situated

Digitized by Google

as I am, to take a present from him. In receiving him on board, I had no direct authority from my Government, and I have yet to learn whether my conduct will be approved of. Besides, were I to receive a present of such value, it might possibly be said, that I was actuated by selfish motives; whereas all the measures I have taken were dictated solely by the desire of serving my country to the best of my judgment: if, therefore, I am to receive any reward, it must come from that quarter."

On the 20th of July, early in the morning, we spoke the Swiftsure, on her way from England to reinforce me in the blockade of Rochefort. The astonishment of Captain Webley can scarcely be conceived, when, on his entering the ship, I said, "Well, I have got him." "Got him! got whom?" "Why, Buonaparte; the man that has been keeping all Europe in a ferment these last twenty

Digitized by Google

years." "Is it possible?" said he; "well, you are a lucky fellow." We had some further conversation; but Captain Webley was not introduced to Buonaparte, who had not then left his cabin; and as the Swiftsure was going to the southward, and I was desirous of getting to England as quickly as possible, we soon parted company.

During the 21st and 22d of July, we exchanged signals with two or three others of our ships, which I took care to explain were on the look-out for my guest; and he seemed by this time pretty well convinced that an attempt to elude our cruisers would have been fruitless. On the latter day, the Prometheus showed her number, while we were at dinner: when Buonaparte expressed a wish to know whether the ships at Brest had hoisted the white flag or not. I sent for the officer of the watch, and desired him to ask the question by telegraph. In a few minutes he returned,

Digitized by Google

with an answer in the affirmative. Buonaparte made no remark upon this information; but asked, with apparent indifference, how the question and answer had been conveyed; and when I explained it to him, he approved highly of the usefulness of the invention.

During meals, he always entered very freely and familiarly into conversation with those about him, addressing himself frequently to Las Cases and me; asking many questions about the manners, customs, and laws of the English; often repeating the observation he had made on first coming on board, that he must gain all the information possible on those subjects, and conform himself to them, as he should probably end his life among that people. Monsieur Las Cases, it appears, had emigrated from France early in the revolution, and remained in England until the peace of Amiens, when he was allowed to return to his own country.

Digitized by Google

Sunday, the 23rd of July, we passed very near to Ushant: the day was fine, and Buonaparte remained upon deck great part of the morning. He cast many a melancholy look at the coast of France, but made few observations on it. He asked several questions about the coast of England; whether it was safe to approach; its distance, and the part we were likely to make. About eight in the evening, the high land of Dartmoor was discovered, when I went into the cabin and told him of it: I found him in a flannel dressing-gown, nearly undressed, and preparing to go to bed. He put on his great-coat, came out upon deck, and remained some time looking at the land; asking its distance from Torbay, and the probable time of our arrival there.

At day-break of the 24th of July, we were close off Dartmouth. Count Bertrand went into the cabin, and informed Buonaparte of

Digitized by Google

it, who came upon deck about half-past four, and remained on the poop until the ship anchored in Torbay. He talked with admiration of the boldness of the coast; saying, "You have in that respect a great advantage over France, which is surrounded by rocks and dangers." On opening Torbay, he was much struck with the beauty of the scenery; and exclaimed, "What a beautiful country! it very much resembles the bay of Porto Ferrajo, in Elba."

The ship was scarcely at anchor, when an officer came along-side, bringing an order from Lord Keith; of which I give an extract.

Extract of an Order from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Ville de Paris, Hamoaze, 23d July, 1815.

"Captain Sartorius, of His Majesty's ship Slaney, delivered to me last night, at eleven

Digitized by Google

o'clock, your despatch of the 14th instant, acquainting me that Buonaparte had proposed to embark on board the ship you command; and that you had acceded thereto, with the intention of proceeding to Torbay, there to wait for further orders. I lost no time in forwarding your letter by Captain Sartorius to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in order that their Lordships might, through him, be acquainted with every circumstance that had occurred on an occasion of so much importance; and you may expect orders from their Lordships for your further guidance. You are to remain in Torbay until you receive such orders; and in the mean time, in addition to the directions already in your possession, you are most positively ordered to prevent every person whatever from coming on board the ship you command, except the officers and men who compose her crew; nor is any person whatever, whether in His Majesty's ser-

Digitized by Google

vice or not, who does not belong to the ship, to be suffered to come on board, either for the purpose of visiting the officers, or on any pretence whatever, without express permission either from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or from me. As I understand from Captain Sartorius, that General Gourgaud refused to deliver the letter with which he was charged for the Prince Regent, to any person except his Royal Highness, you are to take him out of the Slaney, into the ship you command, until you receive directions from the Admiralty on the subject, and order that ship back to Plymouth Sound, when Captain Sartorius returns from London."

Along with the above order, I received a letter from Lord Keith, of which I give some extracts.

" You will perceive by the newspapers,

Digitized by Google

that the intelligence had reached London before Captain Sartorius, owing to his long passage. I have a letter from Lord Melville to-day, enforcing in the strongest manner the former orders,—even that no person, myself or Sir John Duckworth excepted, shall be suffered to come on board the ship, till orders are sent from Government; which you will be so good as strictly to comply with. Let him and his want for nothing; and send to me for any thing Brixham cannot furnish; I will send it to you by a small vessel. You may say to Napoleon, that I am under the greatest personal obligations to him for his attention to my nephew, who was taken and brought before him at Belle Alliance, and who must have died, if he had not ordered a surgeon to dress him immediately, and sent him to a hut. I am glad it fell into your hands at this time, because a Frenchman had been sent from Paris on the mission, a Monsieur Drigni."

Digitized by Google

Buonaparte recollected the circumstance alluded to, and seemed much gratified with Lord Keith's acknowledgments.

Napoleon and all his attendants were very anxious to see as many newspapers as possible, but particularly the Courier, which they considered the Ministerial paper, and most likely to contain the intentions of Government respecting them. They received little encouragement from any of them, but least of all from those which are supposed to take the Ministerial side in politics, as they not only contained a great deal that was personally offensive, but stated, in very plain terms, that none of the party would be allowed to land in England, and that St. Helena was the probable place of their ultimate destination. Buonaparte himself always affected to consider this as a mere newspaper report, though I believe it gave him a good deal of uneasiness. His followers received it with

Digitized by Google

much irritation and impatience, frequently endeavouring to convince me that our Government could have no right to dispose of them in that way, and talking to me, as if I had been one of his Majesty's Ministers, and had influence in determining on their future destination. All I could say on the subject did not prevent them from frequently recurring to it, and appealing against the injustice of such a measure.

This morning General Gourgaud returned from the Slaney, which we found lying here, not having been permitted to land, and having refused to deliver the letter he had been charged with for the Prince Regent to any person except his Royal Highness himself.

When I was conversing with Madame Bertrand, she said, "Had the Emperor gained the battle of Waterloo, he would

Digitized by Google

have been firmly seated on the throne of France." I answered, "It certainly might have protracted his downfall, but, in all probability, he would have been overthrown at last, as the Russians were fast advancing, and he never could have resisted the combined forces of the Allies." To which she replied, "If your army had been defeated, the Russians never would have acted against him." "That I cannot believe," I said, "as they were using every effort to join and support the Allies; and the assertion is ridiculous." "Ah," said she, "you may laugh at it, and so may other people, nor will it, perhaps, now be discovered; but remember what I say, and be assured that at some future period it will be proved, that it never was Alexander's intention to cross the frontiers of France, in opposition to him."

In the course of the day I received many

Digitized by Google

applications for admittance into the ship: among others a note from a lady residing in the neighbourhood, accompanied by a basket of fruit, requesting a boat might be sent for her next morning. I returned a civil answer, informing her that my instructions would not admit of her request being complied with: no more fruit was sent from that quarter. Lord Gwydir and Lord Charles Bentinck also applied for admittance, but with no better success.

No sooner was Buonaparte's arrival known in the neighbourhood, than the ship was surrounded by a crowd of boats, people being drawn from all quarters to see this extraordinary man. He came often upon deck, and showed himself at the gangways and stern windows, apparently for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity, of which, as he observed to me, the English appeared to have a very large portion.

Digitized by Google

In the evening, the officer who had been sent to Plymouth, on the ship's arrival, with despatches for Lord Keith, returned, bringing letters, from which I give the following extracts :—

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Ville de Paris, Hamoaze, July 24, 1815.

"The officer of the ship you command has just delivered to me your letter of this date, reporting your arrival in Torbay, with the Bellerophon and Myrmidon, having on board Napoleon Buonaparte and his suite. I have also received your other letter, explaining the circumstances under which you were placed, when you were induced to receive Napoleon on board; and I shall transmit the same to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in confident expectation, that his Majesty's Government will fully approve of your conduct."

Digitized by Google

Extract of a letter from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated 24th July, 1815.

"I take the opportunity of your officer's return, to congratulate you and the nation, and to thank you for the perfect manner in which you entered into my views on the subject, and for the management of the blockade, about which I was most anxious. It will not be long ere you are instructed by the Government: the first express would arrive about four o'clock this morning, and I attempt a telegraph message, but it is cloudy. I beg you will send for any thing you may want, to me, and it shall be sent instantly; and I beg to present my respects to Napoleon, and if I can render him any civility, I will consider it my duty, as well as in gratitude for Captain Elphinstone's report of the attention he received from him on the field of battle."

Digitized by Google

During the 25th of July, the concourse of people round the ship was greater than the day before, and the anxiety of the Frenchmen was considerably augmented by the confidence with which the newspapers spoke of the intention to remove Buonaparte to St. Helena. In the afternoon, he walked above an hour on deck, frequently stood at the gangway, or opposite to the quarter-deck ports, for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity of seeing him, and, whenever he observed any well-dressed women, pulled his hat off, and bowed to them.

At dinner he conversed as usual, was inquisitive about the kinds of fish produced on the coast of England, and ate part of a turbot that was at table with much relish. He then spoke of the character of the fishermen and boatmen on our coast, saying, "They are generally smugglers as well as fishermen; at one time a great many of them were in my pay,

Digitized by Google

for the purpose of obtaining intelligence, bringing money over to France, and assisting prisoners of war to escape. They even offered, for a large sum of money, to seize the person of Louis, and deliver him into my hands; but as they could not guarantee the preservation of his life, I would not give my consent to the measure."

At three in the morning of the 26th of July, Captain Sartorius returned from London; having carried my despatch announcing Buonaparte's intention to embark in the Bellerophon, and brought with him orders for me to proceed to Plymouth Sound. We immediately got under weigh, accompanied by the Myrmidon and Slaney. While heaving the anchor up, Las Cases came upon deck, when I told him the ship was ordered to Plymouth, supposing, if he thought it requisite, he would acquaint his master. Soon after the ship was at sea, Madame Bertrand

Digitized by Google

made her appearance, when she attacked me with some warmth for having neglected to acquaint Buonaparte with the orders I had received, and told me he was excessively offended. As she had once or twice before, when every thing did not go exactly as she wished, held the same language, I determined to ascertain whether Buonaparte had expressed any dissatisfaction, and, if so, to come to an explanation with him, as, though I was inclined to treat him with every proper consideration, it never was my intention to be looked upon as responsible to him for my movements; I therefore told Las Cases what she had said, and requested he would ascertain whether Napoleon really had felt displeased. He immediately went into the cabin, and on his return assured me that there must have been some mistake, as nothing of the kind had taken place.

The ship's removal to the westward was

Digitized by Google

by no means an agreeable event to the suite of my guest: they naturally reasoned, that, had it been the intention of the British Government to allow him to land in England, he would not have been removed further from the Metropolis. He, however, made no observations on the subject himself; still affecting to consider the reports in the newspapers as the surmises of the editors.

We had, during the forenoon of the 26th of July, to beat up from the Start to Plymouth Sound, against a strong northerly wind. Buonaparte remained upon deck the greater part of the day. When going into the Sound, I pointed out the Breakwater to him, and described the manner in which they were forming it. He said, it was a great national undertaking, and highly honourable to the country; enquired the estimated expense, and seemed surprised, when I told him it was expected to be finished for something

Digitized by Google

less than a million sterling. He added, "I have expended a large sum of money on the port of Cherbourg, and in forming the Boyart Fort, to protect the anchorage at Isle d'Aix; but I fear now, those and many other of my improvements will be neglected, and allowed to go to ruin."

When the ship had anchored, I informed him I was going to wait on the Commander-in-chief, and requested to know if I could convey any message from him. He desired me to return his thanks to Lord Keith, for the kind intentions he had expressed towards him in his letters to me, and to say he was extremely anxious to see his Lordship, if it could be done with propriety. On delivering his message to Lord Keith, he answered, "I would wait upon him with much pleasure, but, to tell you the truth, I have as yet received no instructions as to the manner in which he is to be treated; and until I do

Digitized by Google

receive these, I cannot well visit him." He then gave me some precautionary orders to prevent his escape, or any attempt to effect it. From which I give the extracts below.

Extract of an Order from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Hamoaze, July 26, 1815.

"In addition to the orders already received, you are to pay the strictest regard and attention to the directions contained in the enclosed extract of a letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty. If General Gourgaud has not already been taken out of the Slaney, you are to cause him to be removed immediately into the ship you command. I enclose, for your information, a copy of a general order that I have issued, forbidding communication with the ship you command; and it is my intention to order the Liffey and Eurotas to anchor near you, and to row guard."

Digitized by Google

Extract of a Letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty to Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B.; dated 24th July 1815; enclosed in the foregoing.

"Referring your Lordship to Mr. Croker's letter of the 1st instant, respecting Buonaparte, I am to signify their Lordships' directions to you, to give the most positive orders to Captain Maitland to prevent all communication whatever with the shore but through him, and by him through your Lordship; and on no account to permit any person whatsoever to go on board the ship, without your Lordship's permission given in writing for that purpose; which permission, for obvious reasons, will only be granted in such cases as the public service may require: and proper measures are to be taken to prevent boats and small craft from crowding near the Bellerophon.

"Your Lordship will restrict the captains and commanders of your squadron from

Digitized by Google

communicating, until further orders, with the Bellerophon."

There was also enclosed the following copy of a Memorandum, addressed to the respective Captains of H. M. Ships Liffey and Eurotas.

Ville de Paris, in Hamoaze, 26th July, 1815.

"MEMO:

"The Liffey and Eurotas are to take up an anchorage on each side of the Bellerophon, at a convenient distance, and observe the following directions, as well for the purpose of preventing the escape of Buonaparte, or any of his suite, from that ship, as for restraining shore-boats and others from approaching too close to her, either from curiosity or any other motive.

"A constant watch of an officer, a quarter-watch, and double sentinels, are to be kept by day, as well as a boat manned and armed alongside, in constant readiness, as

Digitized by Google

a guard-boat: the same precaution is to be observed all night, with the exception, that one of the boats, in charge of a lieutenant, is to row guard, and to be relieved every hour.

"No shore-boats, or others, are to be suffered, either by night or by day, to approach nearer the Bellerophon than one cable's length; and no boats are to be permitted to loiter about the ship, even at that distance, either from curiosity or any other motive: neither the captains of the Liffey or Eurotas, nor any other officer belonging to those or any other ships, are to go on board the Bellerophon, either to visit, or on any pretence whatever, without permission from me in writing."

Signed, KEITH, Admiral.

A Copy.

Keith, Admiral.
To the respective Captains of the
Liffey and Eurotas.

Digitized by Google

When I returned on board, I found the frigates had taken their positions as directed in the last order, and their boats were endeavouring as much as possible to keep the shore-boats at the specified distance from the ship. I stated to Buonaparte what Lord Keith had said; to which he answered, "I am extremely anxious to see the Admiral, and therefore beg he will not stand upon ceremony: I shall be satisfied to be treated as a private person, until the British Government has determined in what light I am to be considered." He then complained of the two frigates being placed as guard-ships over him, "as if," said he, "I were not perfectly secure on board a British line-of-battle ship;" and added, "The guard-ships' boats have been firing musquetry all the evening, to keep the shore-boats at a distance; it disturbs and distresses me, and I shall be obliged to you to prevent it, if it lies in your power."

Digitized by Google

I immediately sent to the Captains of the frigates, to put a stop to the firing.

On the 27th of July, I received a letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, of which I give an extract:—

Extract of a Letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty, addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated 25th July, 1815.

"I have received and laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, your letter of yesterday's date, reporting your arrival in the Bellerophon in Torbay, accompanied by the Myrmidon, having on board Napoleon Buonaparte and suite, and transmitting a copy of a letter you had addressed to Admiral Lord Keith, reporting your proceedings, under the various circumstances which occurred prior to his embarkation, of which their Lordships have been pleased to direct me to signify their approval."

Digitized by Google

I waited on Lord Keith in the morning, and carried with me Buonaparte's original letter to the Prince Regent, which General Gourgaud had refused to deliver to Captain Sartorius: finding that one of his own officers would not be allowed to proceed with it, he now consented to its being forwarded through the Admiral. I reported to his Lordship all the occurrences of the previous day; and that, in' consequence of the frequent repetition in the newspapers of its being the intention of his Majesty's Government to send Buonaparte to St. Helena, he, as well as the officers of his suite, had expressed much uneasiness. I also carried a message from him, stating his desire to see his Lordship, and that he would willingly wave all ceremony, and be considered as a private person. To which Lord Keith answered, " I shall now have no difficulty whatever, having received full instructions as to the manner in which he is to be treated:

Digitized by Google

he is to be considered as a General Officer, and have the respect due to that rank paid him, and no more: you may therefore say I shall wait on him to-morrow forenoon." He then put into my hands the following additional orders.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Ville de Paris, Hamoaze, 27th July, 1815.

"I herewith transmit an extract of an order, containing certain directions relative to Buonaparte and his suite, and you are forthwith to carry the same into execution; sending on board the Liffey or Myrmidon, with directions similar to those that have been addressed to yourself, such of his suite as are to be withdrawn from the ship you command."

Digitized by Google

Extract of an Order from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. dated July 25th, 1815.

"That he should give immediate orders, that, upon the arrival of the Bellerophon, Napoleon Buonaparte should remain, until the Prince Regent's further pleasure shall be signified, on board of that, or such other ship of war as we shall appoint, and shall not be permitted on any account to come on shore; or to hold communication with the shore, or with other vessels, either personally, or by writing. Not more than four or five persons of his suite (exclusive of menial servants) are to remain on board the same ship with himself: the remainder of his suite are to be kept under similar restraint, on board of other vessels of war. Napoleon Buonaparte is to be considered and addressed as a General Officer."

Digitized by Google

In consequence of those orders, several of the officers of inferior rank, and some of the servants, were sent to the frigates appointed to guard us.

In the afternoon Sir Richard and Lady Strachan, accompanied by Mrs. Maitland, came alongside the ship. Buonaparte was walking the deck, and, when I told him my wife was in the boat, he went to the gangway, pulled off his hat, and asked her if she would not come up and visit him. She shook her head; and I informed him, that my orders were so positive, I could not even allow her to come on board. He answered, "C'est dur, ça." "That is very hard." And addressing himself to her, "Milord Keith est un peu trop sevère; n'est-ce pas, Madame?" "Lord Keith is a little too severe; is he not, Madam?" He then said to me, "Ma foi, son portrait ne la flatte pas; elle est encore plus jolie que lui." "I assure you her

Digitized by Google

portrait is not flattering; she is handsomer than it is." I told him Sir Richard Strachan was in the boat with her, and that he was second in command of the Channel fleet: he bowed to him, and said, "He appears a very young man to hold so high a rank."

There were this day a great many boats round the ship, full of people, among which were a number of well-dressed females. He expressed himself in strong terms of admiration of the beauty of the English women, and was desirous of knowing which were the ladies,—"les dames comme il faut," as he termed it; as they were all so well dressed that he could not distinguish them.

In the evening a letter was sent to me by Lord Keith, of which I subjoin an extract:—

Digitized by Google

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Ville de Paris, Hamoaze, 27th July, 1815.

" From the representation you have made to me of the dissatisfaction expressed by Buonaparte, on observing by the newspapers that he was to be sent to St. Helena; it will be necessary that you redouble your vigilance to prevent his escape; and you are therefore to station double sentinels, and resort to every other means that may be necessary for frustrating any such intention."

On the 28th of July, Lord Keith came on board, between eleven and twelve o'clock, and was shown by me into the cabin, where Count Bertrand introduced him to Buonaparte. I immediately withdrew, and cannot therefore state what passed between them; but Lord Keith afterwards informed me,

Digitized by Google

that Buonaparte had been very anxious to know whether the Government had come to any determination with regard to his disposal; of which his Lordship professed total ignorance.

After Lord Keith came out of the cabin, he remained some time with Buonaparte's suite, who were collected in the state room. Madame Bertrand drew him aside, and entered into conversation with him, saying what she had repeated to me a hundred times, that it would be the height of injustice to send them to St. Helena, and endeavouring to persuade him to interfere in preventing her husband at least from going, should Napoleon be sent there.

During the whole of the 29th of July it rained incessantly, and nothing worth relating took place: the Frenchmen were deprived of their usual amusement of ad-

Digitized by Google

miring the ladies, and being admired in return, not a boat having made its appearance. They often remarked, with the characteristic vivacity of their nation, that they were placed in the situation of Tantalus, —so many beauties in view, without the possibility of approaching them.

On Sunday, the 30th of July, the crowd of boats was greater than I ever remember to have seen at one time. I am certain I speak within bounds when I state, that upwards of a thousand were collected round the ship, in each of which, on an average, there were not fewer than eight people. The crush was so great, as to render it quite impossible for the guard-boats to keep them off; though a boat belonging to one of the frigates made use of very violent means to effect it, frequently running against small boats, containing women, with such force as nearly to upset them, and alarming the

Digitized by Google

ladies extremely. The French officers were very indignant at such rude proceedings, saying, " Is this your English liberty? Were such a thing to happen in France, the men would rise with one accord and throw that officer and his crew overboard."

After the ship's arrival in England, Buonaparte seldom left the cabin earlier than five o'clock in the afternoon; passing his time in walking up and down the after-cabin, reading a great deal,* and often falling asleep on the sopha, having within these two or three years become very lethargic.

I this day informed him, that Lord Keith had received an intimation, that Sir Henry Bunbury, one of the Under Secretaries of State, was to arrive in the course of the

* The books that seemed to occupy his attention, when I had an opportunity of observing him, were, a Life of Washington, and a translation of Ossian's Poems.

Digitized by Google

day with the decision of the British Government as to his future disposal. He asked me many questions, but, although Lord Keith had acquainted me that Buonaparte was to go to St. Helena, he had at the same time desired me not to communicate this information, and I was therefore obliged to evade his interrogatories as I best could.

In the newspapers of this day there appeared the lists of persons proscribed by the Government of France. Among the first class were the names of Bertrand, Savary, and Lallemand: the first treated it with derision, the two others appeared much alarmed, and often asked me if I thought it possible the British Government would deliver them up to Louis. I said, "Decidedly not; you have been received on board an English man of war, and it never can be the intention of the Ministers to deliver

Digitized by Google

you over to punishment." They were not, however, satisfied by any means; and a French frigate, bearing the white flag, which lay in Hamoaze, was an object of much jealousy to them.

When I waited on Lord Keith, the morning of the 31st of July, he acquainted me that Sir Henry Bunbury had arrived, and was to accompany him on board at ten o'clock. He also showed me a notification of the decision of Government respecting Buonaparte, in which he was styled General throughout. It stated, that he was to be sent to St. Helena, and to be permitted to take with him three of the higher class of those that had accompanied him from France, and twelve domestics, who were to be selected by himself, with the exception of Savary and Lallemand, who were not on any account to be permitted to go with him. I immediately returned on board, to be in readiness

Digitized by Google

to receive Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury; and informed Buonaparte, that he might expect them. He asked me if I knew what they were to communicate; and having then received his Lordship's sanction for doing so, I told him, I understood it was determined he was to be sent to St. Helena. His mind had, by this time, been so much prepared by the newspapers for that event, that he did not show any very strong emotion at receiving the intimation; though he complained, in strong terms, of the injustice of such a measure. As, however, the Admiral's barge was seen approaching, and I was obliged to go upon deck to receive him, I had very little conversation with him at that time.

Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury arrived about half-past ten in the forenoon, when I showed them into the cabin, where Buonaparte was attended by Count Bertrand.

Digitized by Google

I then withdrew, leaving them shut up with him for about half-an-hour, when Lord Keith called me into the fore-cabin, where all the suite were assembled, and I presented each of them to the Admiral and Sir Henry. They all appeared very much distressed, but particularly Savary and Lallemand; who were extremely urgent to know how they were to be disposed of; protesting, most vehemently, against their being given up to France, as a breach of all faith and honour. Madame Bertrand again tried to induce Lord Keith to use his influence with our Government, to prevent Bertrand from accompanying Buonaparte to St. Helena.

As soon as the Admiral had left the ship, Buonaparte sent for me, and showed me the same paper Lord Keith had communicated to me in the morning. When I had read it, he complained vehemently of his treatment in being sent to St. Helena, saying, "The idea

Digitized by Google

of it is perfect horror to me. To be placed for life on an island within the Tropics, at an immense distance from any land, cut off from all communication with the world, and every thing that I hold dear in it!—c'est pis que la cage de fer de Tamerlan. (It is worse than Tamerlane's iron cage.) I would prefer being delivered up to the Bourbons. Among other insults," said he,—"but that is a mere bagatelle, a very secondary consideration,—they style me General! they can have no right to call me General; they may as well call me Archbishop, for I was head of the church, as well as the army. If they do not acknowledge me as Emperor, they ought as First Consul; they have sent Ambassadors to me as such; and your King, in his letters, styled me brother. Had they confined me in the Tower of London, or one of the fortresses in England, (though not what I had hoped from the generosity of the English people,) I should not have so much cause

Digitized by Google

of complaint; but to banish me to an island within the Tropics! They might as well have signed my death-warrant at once, as it is impossible a man of my habit of body can live long in such a climate."

He then expressed a desire to write another letter to the Prince Regent; and I carried it the same afternoon to Lord Keith, by whom it was immediately forwarded to London.

Generals Savary and Lallemand this day made many appeals to me on the injustice of our Government delivering them up to France; saying they had not a doubt it was intended, else why except them from accompanying the Emperor, as they were both married men, and Savary the father of a large family:—it was not the wish of either to have gone to St. Helena; but their being expressly excepted, and their names appear-

Digitized by Google

ing in the list of proscribed, was but too sure a proof of their intended fate. Savary added, "Were I to be allowed a fair and impartial trial, I should have nothing to fear, never having accepted a situation under Louis; but at present, when faction runs so high, I should inevitably be sacrificed to the fury of party. Lallemand's case is quite different: he held a command under the King, and, on Napoleon's return from Elba, joined him with his troops; therefore, his situation would at any time be a dangerous one:—but I lived in the country all the time Louis was in France, and did not come forward until Buonaparte's arrival in Paris, when he directed me to take the command of the Gendarmerie."

Lallemand said, "My reason for coming on board the Bellerophon with Las Cases on the morning of the 14th, was to ascertain whether there would be a risk of

Digitized by Google

any of the Emperor's followers being delivered up to the French Government, in the event of their accompanying him to England; when you assured me there could be no danger of it." I replied, "My answer to you was, that I was of opinion there could be no risk of the British Government taking such a step; and I see no reason now to alter that opinion. As I have received you on board the Bellerophon, I consider you under the protection of the British flag, and myself, in a great measure, responsible for your personal safety; and under that impression I will write on the subject to Lord Melville, as the Minister under whose immediate control I act, that your minds may be set at rest, though, I repeat, you run no hazard of being sent to France." The same evening, before I went to bed, I wrote the letter which follows:—

Digitized by Google

"H. M. S. Bellerophon,
Plymouth Sound, 31st July, 1815.

"My Lord,

"I am induced to address your Lordship in consequence of having observed, in the intimation delivered to Napoleon Buonaparte of the number of persons allowed to accompany him to the Island of St. Helena, that the names of Savary and Lallemand are expressly excepted, which, together with their being proscribed in the French newspapers, has created in them a belief that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to deliver them up to the King of France. Far be it from me to assume such an idea; but I hope your Lordship will make allowance for the feelings of an officer who has nothing so dear to him as his honour, and who could not bear that a stain should be affixed to a name he has ever endeavoured to bear unblemished. These two men, Savary and Lallemand (what their characters or conduct in their own country may be

Digitized by Google

I know not), threw themselves under the protection of the British flag; that protection was granted them with the sanction of my name. It is true, no conditions were stipulated; but for I acted in the full confidence that their lives would be held sacred, or they should never have put foot in the ship I command, without being made acquainted that it was for the purpose of delivering them over to the laws of their country.

"I again beg leave to repeat to your Lordship, that I am far from supposing it to be the intention of His Majesty's Government to deliver these men over to the laws of their country; but, as they are strongly impressed with that belief, and I look upon myself as the cause of their being in their present situation, I most earnestly beg your Lordship's influence may be exerted that two men may not be brought to the scaffold

Digitized by Google

who claimed and obtained at my hands the protection of the British flag.

"I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

"FRED. L. MAITLAND."

"The Viscount Melville,

&c. &c. &c."

I felt convinced that Buonaparte, after the notification he had received, would be too much depressed in spirits to make his appearance on deck this day; and sent a boat to some of my friends, who were waiting in hopes of seeing him, to say there was no chance of his coming out, as he was much distressed at the communication which had been made to him. I was, therefore, a good deal surprised, on turning round, to find him standing at my elbow; and I can only account for his showing himself as usual, by supposing either that he was not in fact so much annoyed as I had believed him to be,

Digitized by Google

or that he was actuated by a desire of creating a feeling of commiseration among the English people in his behalf.

At dinner he conversed as usual; and, indeed, it was quite astonishing with what elasticity his spirits regained their usual cheerfulness, after such trials and disappointments. He never, in my hearing, threatened to commit suicide; nor do I believe he did on any occasion: the only expression I ever heard him make use of, that could in any way be construed into such a threat, was, that he would not go to St. Helena,—" Je n'irai pas à St. Hélène."

As Buonaparte always retired early to bed, it was the custom for the French ladies and officers to assemble every evening in the ward-room, and partake of wine and water, punch, or bishop—a mixture consisting of Port, Madeira, nutmeg, and other ingre-

Digitized by Google

dients, well-known to sailors, and much relished by our foreign guests.

I was sitting this evening next Montholon, when Madame Bertrand entered; I said to her, "Will you not sit down and take something?" She gave an answer which I took for No; and passed rapidly into the first lieutenant's cabin, which she had occupied since she came on board. Montholon, who had observed her with more attention than I had done, immediately rose and followed her. There was instantly a shriek from the cabin, and a great uproar; and some one called out 'The Countess is overboard.' I ran upon deck, that, in the event of its being so, a boat might be lowered down, or the guard-boats called to her assistance. On looking over the quarter, and seeing no splash in the water, I felt satisfied it was a false alarm, and returned to the ward-room. Madame Bertrand had by this time been placed on

Digitized by Google

her bed, where she was lying in strong hysterics, at intervals abusing the English nation and its Government, in the most vehement and unmeasured terms; sometimes in French and sometimes in English. Lallemand was walking up and down the ward-room much agitated, joining in the abuse; saying, among other things, "that it was horrible to bring a set of people on board the ship for the purpose of butchering them." I turned to him, and said, "Monsieur Lallemand, what a woman says in the state of violent irritation that Madame Bertrand at present is, I consider of little consequence, and am willing to make every allowance for the situation you are placed in; but I cannot stand by and hear such terms used of the Government of my country; and if you do not desist, or make use of more respectful language, I shall be under the necessity of taking measures that will be very unpleasant both to you and myself."

Digitized by Google

This had the effect of silencing him. When the bustle had subsided, I retired to my cabin, and was employed in writing the foregoing letter to Lord Melville, in behalf of Messrs. Savary and Lallemand; when the latter, attended by Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, came in. They immediately entered into conversation with me about the cruelty of their situation: among many other things, they said, "You may depend upon it, the Emperor never will go to St. Helena; he will sooner put himself to death; he is a man of determined character, and what he says he will do." "Has he ever said he will put himself to death?" I asked. They answered, "No; but he has said he will not go, which amounts to the same thing; and were he to consent himself, here are three of us who are determined to prevent him." I told them they had better consider the consequences well, before they ventured on a measure of that kind.

Digitized by Google

The next day, August 1st, 1815, I waited on Lord Keith, and reported all that had occurred during the preceding day. I also showed him the letter I had written and meant to send to Lord Melville, respecting Generals Savary and Lallemand; he read it, and said, "that though he did not agree with me in opinion as to my honour or character being implicated, yet that he saw no harm in the letter." He then said, "You may tell those gentlemen who have threatened to be Buonaparte's executioners, that the law of England awards death to murderers, and that the certain consequence of such an act will be finishing their career on a gallows."

After quitting his Lordship, I had an interview with Sir Henry Bunbury, previous to his setting out for London, and stated to him my feelings respecting the cruelty of delivering up to the French Government, men who had been received under the protection of the

Digitized by Google

British flag. I said that I had no belief myself that any such intention existed; but that they were so strongly impressed with the conviction of it, that I had been induced to write to Lord Melville, and now begged to state to him, that I should consider myself dishonoured for ever, if they suffered death through my means. He listened, but did not speak till I had finished; when he told me he would repeat what I had said to his Majesty's Ministers.

Madame Bertrand kept her bed the whole of this day, and did not appear at dinner. When Buonaparte came upon deck, he asked Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon, after her health; and then said, with an incredulous smile, "Do you really think, Doctor, she meant to drown herself?" I put the same question to Montholon; who said he had not a doubt of it, for, when he followed her into the cabin, she was in the act of throwing herself out of the

Digitized by Google

gallery window; that he rushed forward and caught hold of her, and that she continued suspended by the bar that goes across the window, with the greater part of her body hanging out, until he received assistance to drag her in. The bar above-mentioned had been placed there for the purpose of preventing people from falling overboard when the window was open and the ship had much motion at sea.

On returning on board after being with Lord Keith, I went into Madame Bertrand's cabin to see how she was, and found her in bed. I asked her, how she could be so indiscreet as to attempt to destroy herself? "Oh! I am driven to desperation," she said; "I do not know what I do; I cannot persuade my husband to remain behind, he being determined to accompany the Emperor to St. Helena." She then ran into a great deal of abuse of Napoleon, saying, "If his

Digitized by Google

ends are served, he does not care what becomes of other people. 'Tis true he has always given Bertrand lucrative and honourable situations, but the expense attending them is such, that it was impossible to save money; and he has never given him a grant of land, or any thing that permanently bettered our fortune." On another occasion, she came into the cabin which I occupied, when I was writing, and, after exacting a promise of secrecy towards the remainder of the suite, she entreated I would take measures to prevent her husband from accompanying Buonaparte, and begged me to write a letter in her name to Lord Keith, to induce him to interfere. I told her it would appear extremely officious in me to write on such a subject, but that any thing she chose to put on paper I would deliver to his Lordship. She did write, and I carried the letter; but his Lordship declined interfering, desiring me to say, he considered it the duty of every good

Digitized by Google

wife to follow the fortunes of her husband. In the course of the conversation above-mentioned, she became extremely warm in speaking of Napoleon, saying, "He deserves nothing at our hands; and, indeed, there is not one of his people who would not most gladly quit him." Whenever she became animated, she could not pour out her feelings in the English language fast enough, (though she spoke it remarkably well, having received her education partly in England,) when she had always recourse to French; and though I frequently reminded her that there was nothing but a piece of canvass between us and the ward-room, where there were generally some of the French officers, I could by no means keep her within bounds. The consequence of which was, that all she said was heard and understood by one of them. When Madame Bertrand had left me, Count Montholon requested to speak with me in private. He carried me up to his cabin on

Digitized by Google

the quarter-deck, where I found Generals Gourgaud and Lallemand, who told me they had been informed of what Madame Bertrand had said to me; and they had requested to see me, for the purpose of contradicting her assertion, that they were desirous of quitting Buonaparte: that, so far from that being the case, there was not one of them that would not follow him with pleasure wherever he might be sent, or that would not lay down his life to serve him: they also required secrecy towards the Countess. I answered, "Why really, gentlemen, this is very extraordinary; you pretend to know all that passed in a private conversation I have had with Madame Bertrand, and then to bind me to secrecy: you may depend upon it, I will enter into no such engagement, until I know by what means you obtained your information." They then told me that one of them had been in the quarter-gallery, and overheard all she said.

Digitized by Google

Nothing of importance occurred during the 2d of August. Buonaparte did not appear upon deck; nor would he consent to nominate the people who were to accompany him to St. Helena; he still seemed to indulge a hope, that the Government might be induced to reconsider the decision. I had half an hour's conversation with him in the cabin: it consisted, on his part, of complaints of the cruelty of sending him to St. Helena. He likewise asked me many questions about that island, as to its extent, climate, and productions, whether it would be possible to take exercise on horseback, if there was game of any kind upon it, &c.: to all of which I could only answer from report, never having visited the island myself. He conversed very little at dinner, and appeared unwell. In the evening, General Bertrand informed me that the sentinel's calling out "All's well!" during the night disturbed him, and prevented his sleeping;

Digitized by Google

upon which I gave directions they should not do so while he remained on board.

During the 3d of August Buonaparte kept his cabin. When I went to the Admiral, I met him escorting some ladies, in company with Sir William Lemon, to the Ville de Paris's barge. On being introduced to Sir William, he told me that a report was in circulation that a boat was to have been under the Bellerophon's stern the night before, at ten o'clock, for the purpose of effecting Buonaparte's escape. Although I gave no credit to the report, I immediately returned on board, and asked the first lieutenant if Buonaparte had been seen that morning; he informed me that he had not attended breakfast, and that no person had seen him but his own people. I then sent to the Eurotas, which lay astern of the ship, to enquire if he had appeared at the stern windows; but was answered in the negative:

Digitized by Google

upon which I desired one of the young gentlemen to go out on the spanker-boom and look into the cabin windows, to ascertain if he was sitting on the sofa; but he could not discover him in any part of the cabin. I then became extremely uneasy, and sent my servant in to bring some paper out, who on entering found the object of my anxiety stretched out on his bed with his clothes on, and the curtains drawn close round him, with every appearance of being unwell. I had before asked Count Bertrand about him, who said he had passed a bad night, and was too ill to leave his apartment.

Instead of retiring to his bed this evening between eight and nine o'clock, as was his usual custom, I heard him and another person (I believe General Bertrand) pacing up and down the cabin until past eleven; and in consequence gave directions to the officer of the watch and the sentries to be

Digitized by Google

particularly vigilant; and ordered one of the guard-boats to remain under the ship's stern all night. He had still declined all this day giving a list of those that he wished to attend him to St. Helena.

At three in the morning of the 4th of August, the officer of the watch brought me a letter from Lord Keith, informing me that a courier had just arrived from London, and that it was probable the ship would be required to put to sea at a moment's notice. In consequence of this order, we unmoored at day-light, bent the top-gallant sails, and made other preparations for getting under weigh. The Frenchmen were very watchful of all our motions, appeared much alarmed and annoyed, and questioned me frequently as to the cause. I told them, what was literally the fact, that I had received directions to be ready to put to sea, but had no orders to carry it into effect; and that was all I knew.

Digitized by Google

Between seven and eight o'clock, I waited on Lord Keith, who said he had received information that a habeas corpus had been taken out for the purpose of bringing Buonaparte on shore, and that a lawyer was on his way down to serve it; desiring me, therefore, to be ready to put to sea whenever the signal might be made.

On returning on board, I had an interview with Buonaparte, who was very urgent to know why the ship was preparing for sea. I told him, by Lord Keith's directions, that it was the intention of our Government, his removal should take place at sea; and that we were going out to meet the Northumberland, the ship which was to convey him to St. Helena.

He begged I would write to Lord Keith, and say he wished very much to see him; and Count Bertrand told me he was also de-

Digitized by Google

sirous of having the newspapers. I accordingly wrote to his Lordship, who was then on board the Tonnant: who, however, declined visiting him, but sent me a note, of which the following is an extract.

Extract of a Note from Admiral Viscount Keith, addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon; dated Tonnant, 4th August.

"I send you the paper, and shall be glad to hear the determination of the General, whom you may inform that the answer is arrived from London, and that I have no authority to alter, in any degree, any part of the former communication; which induces me to wish the selection of the persons he is inclined should attend him."

I communicated the contents to General Bertrand, who made his report to Buonaparte. On his coming out of the cabin, I pressed him on the subject of nominating

Digitized by Google

those that were to go with him to St. Helena; but the only answer he returned was, "L'Empereur n'ira pas à St. Hélène;"—the Emperor will not go to St. Helena.

Soon after nine o'clock, the Bellerophon's signal was made to prepare to weigh, and at half-past nine to weigh: we immediately started. As the light air of wind that blew was right into the Sound, and the flood-tide against us, the guard-boats were sent a-head to tow; but, soon observing a suspicious-looking person in a boat approaching the ship, I ordered one of them to cast off, keep under the ship's stern, and not allow any shore boat, under any pretext, to come near us. The person alluded to proved afterwards to have been the lawyer mentioned by Lord Keith; not with a Habeas Corpus, but a subpœna for Buonaparte to attend a trial at the Court of King's Bench as a witness. He was, however, foiled: as Lord

Digitized by Google

Keith avoided him, and got on board the Prometheus, off the Ramehead, where he remained until joined by the Tonnant; while the guard-boat prevented him from approaching near enough to the Bellerophon, to serve his writ on me.*

* To prevent erroneous impressions from going abroad, and to put this curious circumstance in its true light, I have prevailed on a friend, who was educated for the English bar, to favour me with the following account of the writs of the Habeas Corpus and subpœna; by which it will appear that no such process, or any other, as far as I can understand, could have had the effect of removing Buonaparte from one of His Majesty's ships, and causing him to be landed in England in opposition to the commands of the Government of the country.

" It is a common mistake to suppose that the celebrated Habeas Corpus Act made it a matter of right, for every person, under any restraint whatever to obtain this writ. That statute related to persons committed by legal process for criminal offences, and the object of it was to prevent them being detained an unnecessary or unreasonable length of time, without being brought to trial. Other cases of alleged illegal detention were left as at common law: in these the granting or refusal of the writ is discretionary in the Court, or Judge applied to, and it will

Digitized by Google

While the ship was working out of the Sound, two well-dressed women in a boat

only be issued on a proper case being laid before them. No such writ, it is believed, was ever applied for in Buonaparte's case; nor, if applied for, would it have been obtained. Where a foreigner, in private life, is brought to England, and detained against his will, the Court will grant the writ; but any application of Buonaparte, or on his behalf, must have shown him to have surrendered, and to have been then detained as a prisoner of war. Under that character, he was not entitled to the benefit of this writ; the Courts having refused it on the application of individuals brought to England as prisoners of war, even when applied for by the subject of a neutral power, who swore to his having been compelled by force to serve the enemy, and to have been captured in the course of that compulsory service.

"The real transaction alluded to, is understood to have been this: an individual being under prosecution for a libel on a naval officer, censuring his conduct on the West India station, when a French squadron was in those seas, pretended that it would aid his defence to show that the French ships were at that time in an unserviceable condition, and that Buonaparte would be able to prove the fact. He accordingly obtained a subpœna for him to attend as a witness on the trial in the Court of King's Bench, and endeavoured himself, and not by a lawyer, as at first supposed, to get on board the Bellerophon to deliver it.

Digitized by Google

kept as close to her as the guard-boat would allow, and, whenever Buonaparte appeared at the stern windows, stood up and waved their handkerchiefs.

"This transaction probably gave currency to the rumours of a Habeas Corpus having been issued, particularly as one description of that writ is, the proceeding for bringing a prisoner into Court to give evidence, which having given, he is remanded to gaol.

"Had the individual in question succeeded in his attempt to get on board the ship, and deliver the subpœna, it would have been of no assistance either to himself or Buonaparte, if it was at all intended to benefit the latter, as it would not have been possible for him to obey it, there not being any authority for Captain Maitland, who was answerable for his safety as a prisoner, allowing him to do so. It was, however, considered the most prudent course, by Lord Keith, not to permit the delivery of the process, the exact nature of which was at the moment unknown, lest it might involve himself or Captain Maitland in any difficulty, by an apparent disrespect to the Court, and more particularly as it might create erroneous impressions in Buonaparte's mind, that a breach of the law was committed in his not being permitted to comply with the terms of the document, not aware that it contained no power authorizing his release from detention as a prisoner of war."

Digitized by Google

On joining the Prometheus off the Ramehead, where Lord Keith's flag was then flying, I received the following note from his Lordship.

No date; received August 4th, in the Afternoon.

"I have been chased all day by a lawyer with a Habeas Corpus: he is landed at Cawsand, and may come off in a sailing-boat during the night; of course, keep all sorts of boats off, as I will do the like in whatever ship I may be in. "KEITH."

"Captain Maitland."

Buonaparte wrote another letter this evening to the Prince Regent, which I carried to Lord Keith, who again told me of his having been chased all day by a lawyer: who had first started him out of his own house, then followed him to the Tonnant, where he attempted to get in at one side, as his Lord-

Digitized by Google

ship left her on the other; he afterwards pursued him towards Cawsand, but the Admiral being in a twelve-oared barge, outrowed him, and gave him the slip round the Ramehead. It was on his return from this chase that he attempted to get on board the Bellerophon.

Buonaparte now confined himself entirely to his cabin, never coming on deck, or appearing at breakfast or dinner. He was not served from the table, but what he ate was prepared and carried in to him by Marchand, his favourite valet de chambre. Messrs. Bertrand and Las Cases passed much time with him; and this evening the protest was prepared, which will appear in the sequel.

On the morning of the 5th of August, the weather was overcast, with a strong breeze of wind, and the sea began to rise, much to the discomposure of my poor French guests.

Digitized by Google

Soon after breakfast, my signal being made from the Tonnant, where Lord Keith had now hoisted his flag, I told General Bertrand that I was going to the Admiral, and would convey any thing Buonaparte had to say to him. He requested I would wait until a letter or paper, then under preparation, was finished, which was intended for me, but a copy to be presented to Lord Keith. I waited nearly an hour, when he brought me Buonaparte's protest. I delivered it to the Admiral, stating at the same time that I wished to have a copy; and was afterwards furnished with one by his Lordship's secretary. I insert it here.

Buonaparte's Protest.

" Je proteste solennellement içi, à la face du Ciel et des hommes, contre la violence qui m'est faite, contre la violation de mes droits les plus sacrés, en disposant par la force, de ma personne et de ma liberté.

Digitized by Google

" Je suis venu librement à bord du Bellerophon; je ne suis point prisonnier; je suis l'hôte de l'Angleterre. J'y suis venu à l'instigation même du Capitaine qui a dit avoir des ordres du Gouvernement de me recevoir, et de me conduire en Angleterre avec ma suite, si cela m'étoit agréable. Je me suis présenté de bonne foi pour venir me mettre sous la protection des loix d'Angleterre. Aussitôt assis à bord du Bellerophon, je fus sur le foyer du peuple Britannique. Si le Gouvernement, en donnant des ordres au Capitaine du Bellerophon, de me recevoir ainsi que ma suite, n'a voulu que tendre une embûche, il a forfait à l'honneur et flêtri son pavillon. Si cet acte se consommoit, ce seroit en vain que les Anglais voudroient parler à l'Europe de leur loyauté, de leur loix, et de leur liberté. La foi Britannique *s'y trouvera perdue dans l'hospitalité du Bellerophon.* J'en appelle à l'histoire; elle dira qu'un ennemi qui fit vingt ans la guerre aux peuples Anglois, vint librement,

Digitized by Google

dans son infortune, chercher un asile sous ses loix. Quelle plus éclatante preuve pouvait-il lui donner de son estime et de sa confiance? Mais comment répondit-on en Angleterre à une telle magnanimité?—On feignit de tendre une main hospitalière à cet ennemi, et quand il se fut livré de bonne foi, on l'immola.

" Signé, NAPOLÉON."

A' bord du Bellerophon,
4 Aout, 1815.

TRANSLATION.

Buonaparte's Protest.

" I hereby solemnly protest, in the face of Heaven and of men, against the violence done me, and against the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and my liberty. I came voluntarily on board of the Bellerophon; I am not a prisoner, I am the guest of England. I came on board even at the instigation of the Captain, who told me he had orders from

Digitized by Google

the Government to receive me and my suite, and conduct me to England, if agreeable to me. I presented myself with good faith to put myself under the protection of the English laws. As soon as I was on board the Bellerophon, I was under shelter of the British people.

"If the Government, in giving orders to the Captain of the Bellerophon to receive me as well as my suite, only intended to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag.

"If this act be consummated, the English will in vain boast to Europe of their integrity, their laws, and their liberty. British good faith will be lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

"I appeal to History; it will say that an enemy, who for twenty years waged war

Digitized by Google

against the English people, came voluntarily, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more brilliant proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But what return did England make for so much magnanimity? They feigned to stretch forth a friendly hand to that enemy; and when he delivered himself up in good faith, they sacrificed him.

Signed, NAPOLEON."

"On board the Bellerophon,
4th August, 1815."

On the above I shall only observe, that no snare had been laid, either on the part of His Majesty's Government or mine. I was placed before Rochefort for the open purpose of preventing Buonaparte from making his escape from that port; and the exertions of myself and those under my command had been so completely successful, that the intention of forcing past the ships under my

Digitized by Google

orders, as well as every other plan proposed, of which there appear to have been several, were abandoned as utterly hopeless. And so far was I from seeking communication with Napoleon, that all the flags of truce proceeding from him, were strongly reprobated by me, as improper, except in extraordinary cases, and were only resorted to when, as appears from Lord Keith's letter of the 23d of July, orders had been sent from Paris for his arrest, and when (as has since been proved) one or more intimations had been given by the officer commanding in Isle d'Aix, that, if he did not depart, he would be under the necessity of detaining him. Besides, it is now perfectly ascertained, that the determination of repairing to England was adopted at a consultation held by Buonaparte on the night of the 13th of July, when his letter to the Prince Regent was written; and Messrs. Las Cases and Lallemand were sent on the morning of the 14th to discover

Digitized by Google

if I would receive him on board the Bellerophon, and convey him to that country.

On the morning of the 6th of August, when walking the deck with Monsieur Las Cases, he for the first time mentioned, that he understood me to have assured him that the Emperor would be well received in England, and allowed to reside there. I replied, "I cannot conceive how you could so far misunderstand me, as I constantly, in my communications with you, stated that I could make no promises whatever: that I thought my orders would bear me out in receiving him on board, and conveying him to England; but even in doing that, I acted very much upon my own responsibility. You questioned me frequently, as to my private opinion; and as I was quite ignorant upon the subject, I could only say I had no reason to believe he would be ill received." It did not, however,

Digitized by Google

require my assistance to raise the hopes of those about Buonaparte, respecting the manner in which he was to be received in England; as one of his followers, on the passage home, asked me if I thought the Prince Regent would confer the order of the Garter upon him. If there was any misunderstanding, (which I cannot allow to have been the case,) Monsieur Las Cases has himself to blame. When he came on board of the Bellerophon for the purpose of treating, he concealed his knowledge of the English language; which, as I had considerable difficulty in expressing myself in French, could only be intended for the purpose of throwing me off my guard, that he might take advantage of any expressions that fell from me, or the officers I had always present at our meetings. Even after he was on board with Buonaparte, though he acknowledged he could read English, and always translated the newspapers for his master, he affected

Digitized by Google

not to be able to speak it. What his actual knowledge of the language was, the following extract of a letter, from a friend of mine on board the Northumberland, dated at sea, August the 22d, 1815, will show:

"I do not know, whether Las Cases ever let you know he could speak English; but this I can assure you, that he speaks it very near as well as Madame Bertrand, and can hold a conversation, or maintain an argument in it, with as much fluency as she can."

This forenoon, I had a long conversation with Buonaparte. He complained bitterly of the conduct of the British Government; and entered, at considerable length, into the state of his affairs when he determined upon the measure of repairing on board the Bellerophon. "There still," said he, "was a large party in the South, that wished me to put myself at its head; the army behind the

Digitized by Google

Loire was also desirous of my return. At ten o'clock of the night before I embarked, a deputation from the garrison of Rochelle waited upon me, with an offer to conduct me to the army; in addition to which, the troops that were in Rochefort, Bourdeaux, and Isle d'Aix, amounting to twelve thousand men, were at my disposal. But I saw there was no prospect of ultimate success, though I might have occasioned a great deal of trouble and bloodshed, which I did not choose should take place on my account individually;—while the empire was at stake, it was another matter."

In the afternoon, Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon, informed me that General Savary had made a proposal to him to accompany Buonaparte to St. Helena as his medical attendant; Monsieur Maingaut, his surgeon, being a young man with whom he was little acquainted, and had suffered so much from

Digitized by Google

sea-sickness in the passage from Rochefort, that he felt averse to undertaking another sea voyage. He consulted me as to the propriety of accepting the offer. I told him it must depend very much upon his own feelings; but if he had no dislike to it, he had better accept the proposal, on condition that our Government consented, and agreed to pay his salary; but, in that case, an official communication must pass, through me, to the Admiral on the subject. This was the first intimation I received of Buonaparte having made any arrangement towards complying with the notification he had received from our Government.

About nine A. M. a large ship was seen to leeward, which, on closing, proved to be the Northumberland. The whole squadron then stood in, and anchored to the westward of Berryhead. I went on board the Tonnant, and reported to Lord Keith that Buo-

Digitized by Google

naparte had at last made up his mind to move from the Bellerophon without force being used; and that Count Bertrand was desirous of seeing his Lordship, that he might make the necessary arrangements about the people who were to accompany him. By the Admiral's directions, I returned to my ship and brought Monsieur Bertrand to him. Soon after Sir George Cockburn arrived, and they were shut up together for nearly two hours.

When I first went on board the Tonnant, I received a memorandum from Lord Keith, from which I give an extract; and at the same time a verbal intimation, that I should receive an order in writing the next day, to remove Buonaparte, and such part of his suite as he might select, to the Northumberland.

Digitized by Google

Extract of a Memorandum from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B. addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Tonnant, off the Start, 6th August, 1815.

"All arms of every description are to be taken from the Frenchmen of all ranks on board the ship you command; and they are to be carefully packed up and kept in your charge, while they remain on board the Bellerophon; and afterwards in that of the captain of the ship to which they may be removed."

While we were at dinner, Generals Bertrand and Montholon were employed making out lists of what would be required by the French officers and the ladies, to render them comfortable during their voyage to St. Helena, which were despatched to Plymouth by Sir George Cockburn's secretary.

In the course of the evening Lord Keith

Digitized by Google

and Sir George Cockburn came on board the Bellerophon; when the latter was introduced to Buonaparte.

As soon as General Bertrand was at leisure, I told him I had orders to remove Napoleon to the Northumberland the following day, and also to take away the arms from him and his attendants, giving him to understand that they would be returned on their arrival at their destination. He seemed much hurt at being deprived of his arms, but said he would give directions for their being delivered; and I received them the next morning, with the exception of Buonaparte's sword, which, by an order I subsequently received from Lord Keith, he was permitted to wear, when quitting the ship.

About half-past nine in the evening, Mons. Bertrand told me that Buonaparte was desirous of seeing me. On going into his cabin,

Digitized by Google

he said, "Bertrand informs me you have received orders to remove me to the Northumberland; is it so?" I answered in the affirmative. "Have you any objection," he said, "to writing a letter to Bertrand, acquainting him of it; that I may have a document to prove that I was forced to quit the ship, and that my inclinations were not consulted." I replied, "I can have no objection to write such a letter, and shall do it this evening." I was then going to retire, when he requested me to remain, having more to say. "Your Government," he continued," has treated me with much severity, and in a very different way from what I had hoped and expected, from the opinion I had formed of the character of your countrymen. It is true I have always been the enemy of England, but it has ever been an open and declared one; and I paid it the highest compliment it was possible for man to do in throwing myself on the generosity of

Digitized by Google

your Prince: I have not now to learn, however, that it is not fair to judge of the character of a people by the conduct of their Government." He then went on, (alluding to the Government,) "They say I made no conditions. Certainly I made no conditions; how could an individual enter into terms with a nation? I wanted nothing of them but hospitality, or, as the ancients would express it, 'air and water.' My only wish was to purchase a small property in England, and end my life there in peace and tranquillity. As for you, Capitaine," (the name by which he always addressed me) "I have no cause of complaint; your conduct to me has been that of a man of honour; but I cannot help feeling the severity of my fate, in having the prospect of passing the remainder of my life on a desert island. But," added he with a strong emphasis, "if your Government give up Savary and Lallemand to the King of France, they will inflict a stain upon the British name

Digitized by Google

that no time can efface." I told him, in that respect, they were under an erroneous impression; that I was convinced it was not the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to deliver them up. "Je l'espère," "I hope so;" was his only reply.—I then took my leave of him for the night.

That I may not break in upon the occurrences of the 7th, I shall here insert the letter I wrote at Buonaparte's request, and a copy of the orders under which I acted in removing him from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland.

"H. M. S. Bellerophon, Start Bay,

"7th August, 1815.

"SIR,

"I beg to acquaint you that I have this day received orders from Lord Keith, Commander in Chief of the Channel Fleet, to remove General Buonaparte from the ship I

Digitized by Google

command, to his Majesty's ship Northumberland; and I have to request you will intimate the above to the General, that he may prepare for the removal.

"I likewise enclose a copy of an order respecting the arms of General Buonaparte and the whole of his attendants, and request you will give directions for their being delivered to me, that they may be disposed of as the order directs.

"I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

FRED. L. MAITLAND.

"Lieut. General Count Bertrand."

Copy of the order alluded to.

"By the Right Hon. Viscount Keith, G. C. B.
&c. &c. &c.

"You are hereby required and directed to deliver the persons, named below, into the

Digitized by Google

charge of Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn.

"Given on board the Tonnant,
At anchor under Berryhead,
7th August, 1815.
KEITH, Admiral.
"By command of the Admiral,
"JAMES MEEK, Secretary."

"To F. L. Maitland, Esq.
Captain of H. M. S. Bellerophon."

General Buonaparte.
Count Bertrand, his Wife, three children, one female servant, and her child.
General Montholon, his Wife, one child, and one female servant.
General Gourgaud.
Le Comte de Las Cases, and his son.
Marchand Prenier, Valet de Chambre.
St. Denis, ditto.
Novarra, ditto.
Pieron, Chef d'Office.
Le Page Cuisinier.
Archambaud, Premier Valet de Pied.

Digitized by Google

Gentilini, Valet de Pied.

Bernard, domestique du Comte Bertrand.

The four domestics underneath, who had come to England in the Myrmidon, also accompanied him:—

Cipriani, Maître d'Hôtel.

Santini, Huissier.

Rosseau, Lampiste.

Archambaud, Valet de Pied.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B., addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Tonnant, off Berry-head, 7th August, 1815.

"When the General quits the ship, it is not intended to take his sword from him, but to let him wear it, but not the others. Pistols, guns, &c. must, *as in all instances*, be removed for the safety of the ship, but the arms are carefully to be kept, and restored at a proper occasion."

On the morning of the 7th of August, 1815, Count Las Cases made an application to me

Digitized by Google

for permission to wait on Lord Keith, having a communication to make to him. I, in consequence, went to his Lordship, and obtained leave to send him. When the Admiral came on board the Bellerophon, in the forenoon, to attend Buonaparte in his removal to the Northumberland, he informed me that Monsieur Las Cases had represented to him, that I had promised Buonaparte should be well received in England, and allowed to remain there; and the same day he wrote a letter to me containing the above statement, and directing me to report upon it, which I afterwards did, as will hereafter appear.

Count Bertrand was employed, during the morning, making out a list of those that were to proceed to St. Helena with Buonaparte, in which General Gourgaud's name was omitted, and Colonel Planat was nominated his Secretary. This offended Monsieur Gourgaud so much, that he made use of some

Digitized by Google

very strong language to General Bertrand; and after a good deal of altercation, it was arranged, I believe by Buonaparte himself, that Gourgaud should take Planat's place. There was also another cause of disagreement. The number of domestics allowed to go to St. Helena being only twelve, did not admit of all the officers taking their personal attendants; General Montholon was obliged to leave a servant who had been with him many years, and Count Bertrand's was the only exception.

General Bertrand had been so much employed all the morning making preparations for their removal, that he did not come to breakfast until every one had finished; his wife remained at the table, as I did also, as a mark of attention to him. She soon commenced an attack on her husband, to induce him to quit Buonaparte and remain in England. He seemed much distressed, but remained silent. At last, she turned to me, and

Digitized by Google

begged I would give an opinion, and use my influence in favour of her proposal. I said, "Madame Bertrand, I have from the beginning endeavoured to avoid meddling in the very unpleasant discussions that have been going on for some days; but, as you demand my opinion, and force me to give it, I must acquaint you that I think, if your husband quits his master at such a time as the present, he will forfeit the very high character he now bears in this country." I then rose from the table and went upon deck.

A short time after, Madame Bertrand came on deck, and, addressing me with much indignation in her countenance, said, "So, Captain Maitland, I hear the Emperor is not to have the whole of the after-cabin on board the Northumberland." I told her, I understood that Sir George Cockburn had received orders to that effect. "They had better treat him like a dog at once," said

Digitized by Google

she, " and put him down in the hold." I had for several days been kept in a state of irritation that cannot be described, and such as few people have had an opportunity of experiencing. Madame Bertrand had, it will be readily understood, some share in causing this; and on her making the above remark, I am sorry to say, the little self-possession that still remained gave way, and I answered in these words, " Madam, you talk like a very foolish woman; and if you cannot speak more to the purpose, or with more respect of the Government I have the honour to serve, I request you will not address yourself to me." Just before she went out of the ship, however, she came up to me in a conciliatory and friendly manner, that did her the highest honour, and said, " Captain Maitland, you called me a very foolish woman this morning, but I should be sorry to part with you on bad terms; have you any objection to shake hands with me? as God knows if we shall ever meet again." " Very

Digitized by Google

far from it," I answered; "I should be extremely sorry you left the ship without receiving my good wishes for your happiness and prosperity; and if, in the warmth of my temper, and under the harassing circumstances of my situation, I have said any thing unpleasant, I most sincerely beg your pardon, and hope you will forgive and forget it."

Soon after breakfast, Marchand came and said the Emperor wished to see me: I went into the cabin. "I have requested to see you, Captain," said he, "to return you my thanks for your kindness and attention to me whilst I have been on board the Bellerophon, and likewise to beg you will convey them to the officers and ship's company you command. My reception in England has been very different from what I expected; but it gives me much satisfaction to assure you, that I feel your conduct to me throughout has been that of a gentleman and a man of

Digitized by Google

honour. He then said, he was desirous of having Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the Bellerophon, to accompany him; and asked my opinion of him in his medical capacity, as well as of his principles. I replied, that I had the highest opinion of him, both for his skill and attention; that he had given me so much satisfaction while under my command, that I had procured his removal from two different ships in which he had served with me previous to my appointment to the Bellerophon, that he might accompany me; and that I was convinced he was a man of principle and integrity. After conversing some time longer with him, during which he spoke in the warmest terms of affection of General Bertrand, and the obligations he felt to him for his remaining with him during his adversity, when he knew strong efforts had been used to induce him to abandon him, I took my leave; and this was the last time I was ever alone with him.

Digitized by Google

Soon after, Sir George Cockburn came on board, attended by Mr. Byng as his secretary, for the purpose of examining Buonaparte's baggage: he had directions to apply to some person of his suite to attend at the search. The proposal was made to Count Bertrand; but he was so indignant at the measure, that he positively refused either to be present himself or to direct any other person to superintend. General Savary, however, consented, and was present, as well as Marchand. The covers of the trunks were merely opened, and Mr. Byng passed his hand down the side, but the things were not unpacked. Once or twice, when the door of the after-cabin was opened, Buonaparte expressed his obligation to Mr. Byng for the delicate manner in which he conducted the search, by bowing to him. When they came to the boxes containing the money, of which there were two, Marchand was permitted to take out such sum as was considered necessary for paying the wages

Digitized by Google

of the servants that were to be left behind, and for other contingent expenses. One box, containing four thousand gold Napoleons, was retained and put under my charge, where it remained until my arrival in London, when I delivered it to Sir Hudson Lowe to be restored to its owner, as will be seen by the following order, receipts, &c.

"By the Right Hon. Viscount Keith, G. C. B. &c. &c. &c.

"You are hereby required and directed to receive into your custody such a sum of money belonging to General Buonaparte, as will be delivered into your charge by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, granting proper receipts for the same.

"Given on board the Tonnant,
At anchor under Berryhead,
7th August, 1815,
"KEITH, Admiral."

"To F. L. Maitland, Esq.
'Captain of H. M. S. Bellerophon."

Digitized by Google

"J'ai laissé le sept d'aout, à bord du Bellerophon, à Monsieur le Capitaine Maitland, une somme de quatre vingt mille francs, en quatre mille Napoleons d'or.

"MARCHAND,
Premier Valet de Chambre."

On the 7th of August, I have left on board the Bellerophon, in charge of Captain Maitland, the sum of eighty thousand francs, in four thousand gold Napoleons.

MARCHAND,
1st Valet de Chambre.

"I acknowledge to have received a box with four paper packages, *said* to contain four thousand gold Napoleons, the property of Napoleon Buonaparte.

"August 7th, 1815,
"FRED. L. MAITLAND."

"Approved, George Cockburn."

Digitized by Google

As I shall not have to revert to the subject of the money, I shall here subjoin the receipt I obtained on delivering it at the Admiralty Office, though it is of a date some time posterior.

"Admiralty, September 14, 1815.

"Received from Captain Maitland a box, containing four packages, marked each 20,000 francs, and said to contain four thousand Napoleons d'or."

"H. Lowe, Major General."

About eleven, A. M., Lord Keith came on board in the Tonnant's barge, to accompany Buonaparte from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland. Count Bertrand immediately went into the cabin to inform him of his Lordship's arrival: it was, however, full two hours before it was reported that he was ready to attend him. About one o'clock, the barge of the Admiral was prepared; a Cap-

Digitized by Google

tain's guard turned out, and by Lord Keith's direction, as Napoleon crossed the quarter-deck to leave the ship, the guard presented arms, and three ruffles of the drum were beat, being the salute given to a General Officer.

He walked out of the cabin with a steady, firm step, came up to me, and, taking off his hat, said, "Captain Maitland, I take this last opportunity of once more returning you my thanks for the manner in which you have treated me while on board the Bellerophon, and also to request you will convey them to the officers and ship's company you command:" then turning to the Officers, who were standing by me, he added, "Gentlemen, I have requested your Captain to express my gratitude to you for your attention to me, and to those who have followed my fortunes." He then went forward to the gangway; and before he went down the

Digitized by Google

ship's side, bowed two or three times to the ship's company, who were collected in the waist and on the forecastle; he was followed by the ladies and the French Officers, and lastly by Lord Keith. After the boat had shoved off, and got the distance of about thirty yards from the ship, he stood up, pulled his hat off, and bowed first to the Officers, and then to the men; and immediately sat down, and entered into conversation with Lord Keith, with as much apparent composure as if he had been only going from one ship to the other to pay a visit.

About a quarter of an hour before Buonaparte quitted the Bellerophon, Montholon came to me on the quarter-deck, and said, "I am directed by the Emperor to return you his thanks for the manner in which you have conducted yourself throughout the whole of this affair; and he desires me to say, that the greatest cause of disappointment he

Digitized by Google

feels in not being admitted to an interview with the Prince Regent is, that he had intended to ask as a favour from his Royal Highness, that you should be promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral." I answered, "that although the request could not have been complied with under any circumstances, as it was contrary to the regulations of our naval service, yet I do not the less feel the kindness of the intention." "He meant also," he said, "to have presented you with a box containing his portrait, but he understands you are determined not to accept it." I replied, "In the situation I am placed, it is quite impossible I can receive any present from him." "He is perfectly aware," said he, "of the delicacy of your situation, and approves of your conduct." I then said, "I feel much hurt that Count Las Cases should have stated to Lord Keith, that I had promised Buonaparte should be well received in England, or indeed made promises of any

Digitized by Google

sort. I have endeavoured to conduct myself with integrity and honour throughout the whole of this transaction, and therefore cannot allow such an assertion to go uncontradicted." "Oh!" said he, "Las Cases negotiated this business; it has turned out very differently from what he and all of us expected. He attributes the Emperor's situation to himself, and is therefore desirous of giving it the best countenance he can; but I assure you, the Emperor is convinced your conduct has been most honourable:" then taking my hand, he pressed it, and added, "and that is my opinion also."

In the course of the afternoon, I attended General Savary and Lallemand on board the Northumberland, where they went for the purpose of taking a last farewell of their master. I had very little conversation with him myself, but they remained with him a considerable time. When I was about to re-

Digitized by Google

turn to my ship, I went into the cabin to tell them they must accompany me. They approached him in the after-cabin, where he was standing, when he embraced each of them most affectionately, after the French manner, putting his arms round them, and touching their cheeks with his. He was firm and collected; but, in turning from him, the tears were streaming from their eyes. On getting on board, all the squadron got under weigh, the Tonnant and Bellerophon to return to Plymouth, the Northumberland, with two troop ships in company, to proceed to St. Helena. The following day she was joined by a frigate and several sloops of war from Plymouth, when she made sail to the westward.

Having now brought my narrative down to the period of Buonaparte's quitting the ship, it only remains for me to give some account of his person and character, as far as it

Digitized by Google

fell under my view. In doing so, I shall endeavour, as far as possible, in the same spirit with which the foregoing narrative is written, to avoid being biassed, either by favourable or unfavourable feelings towards him. What he may have been when at the head of the French Empire, with the destiny of the greater part of Europe under his control, I have no peculiar means of knowing; all I can pretend to do is, to describe him as he was on board the Bellerophon; adding a few anecdotes, which have been omitted in the course of the narrative, as serving to throw some further light upon his character.

Napoleon Buonaparte, when he came on board the Bellerophon, on the 15th of July, 1815, wanted exactly one month of completing his forty-sixth year, being born the 15th of August, 1769. He was then a remarkably strong, well-built man, about five feet seven inches high, his limbs particularly

Digitized by Google

well-formed, with a fine ancle and very small foot, of which he seemed rather vain, as he always wore, while on board the ship, silk stockings and shoes. His hands were also very small, and had the plumpness of a woman's rather than the robustness of a man's. His eyes light grey, teeth good; and, when he smiled, the expression of his countenance was highly pleasing; when under the influence of disappointment, however, it assumed a dark gloomy cast. His hair was of a very dark brown, nearly approaching to black, and, though a little thin on the top and front, had not a grey hair amongst it. His complexion was a very uncommon one, being of a light sallow colour, differing from almost any other I ever met with. From his having become corpulent, he had lost much of his personal activity, and, if we are to give credit to those who attended him, a very considerable portion of his mental energy was also gone. It is certain his habits were

Digitized by Google

very lethargic while he was on board the Bellerophon; for though he went to bed between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, and did not rise till about the same hour in the morning, he frequently fell asleep on the sofa in the cabin in the course of the day. His general appearance was that of a man rather older than he then was. His manners were extremely pleasing and affable: he joined in every conversation, related numerous anecdotes, and endeavoured, in every way, to promote good humour: he even admitted his attendants to great familiarity; and I saw one or two instances of their contradicting him in the most direct terms, though they generally treated him with much respect. He possessed, to a wonderful degree, a facility in making a favourable impression upon those with whom he entered into conversation: this appeared to me to be accomplished by turning the subject to matters he supposed the person he was addressing was

Digitized by Google

well acquainted with, and on which he could show himself to advantage. This had the effect of putting him in good humour with himself; after which it was not a very difficult matter to transfer a part of that feeling to the person who had occasioned it. Lord Keith appears to have formed a very high opinion of the fascination of his conversation, and expressed it very emphatically to me, after he had seen him: speaking of his wish for an interview with the Prince Regent, "D——n the fellow," he said, "if he had obtained an interview with his Royal Highness, in half an hour they would have been the best friends in England." He appeared to have great command of temper; for, though no man could have had greater trials than fell to his lot during the time he remained on board the Bellerophon, he never, in my presence, or as far as I know, allowed a fretful or captious expression to escape him: even the day he received the notification

Digitized by Google

from Sir Henry Bunbury, that it was determined to send him to St. Helena, he chatted and conversed with the same cheerfulness as usual. It has been asserted that he was acting a part all the time he was on board the ship; but still, even allowing that to be the case, nothing but great command of temper could have enabled him to have sustained such a part for so many days, in his situation.

I shall here relate a circumstance that occurred during the passage to England, which will show in a strong point of view the freedom that subsisted between him and those of his attendants in whom he had confidence. A conversation took place respecting the relative state of cultivation in France and in England. My opinion being asked, I said, that though the climate of France was much superior to that of England, I believed that agriculture had

Digitized by Google

arrived at a greater state of perfection with us than in France. Most of the Frenchmen treated the idea with ridicule; upon which I said, let us refer to Monsieur Las Cases, who has lived several years in England. "You are right," said he; "there can be no doubt, that agriculture has arrived to much greater perfection in England than in France; but what I admire most in England, are the country-seats of your noblemen and gentlemen; there you surpass France very much." General Bertrand then took up the conversation, and said, that he was assured, that thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually expended on the park and grounds of Blenheim. Buonaparte immediately reduced that sum into livres; and observed, "The thing is impossible: the English people are not fools; they know the value of money, and no individual either could or would expend such a sum for such a purpose." He then spoke of the expense of keeping up Mal-

Digitized by Google

maison, one of the country palaces in France; stating the sum it cost annually, which did not exceed five thousand pounds. Bertrand still persisted in his statement, and made a reference to me. I, however, could give no information further than saying, that from what I had heard of the Duke of Marlborough's finances, he could not possibly lay out any such sum on Blenheim. Monsieur Bertrand would not give up the point, but repeated his assertion. On which Buonaparte said, with quickness, "Bah! c'est impossible." "Oh!" said Bertrand, much offended, "if you are to reply in that manner, there is an end of all argument;" and for some time would not converse with him. Buonaparte, so far from taking umbrage, did all he could to soothe him and restore him to good-humour, which was not very difficult to effect.

One morning he began to talk of his wife

Digitized by Google

and child, and desired Marchand to bring two or three miniature pictures to show me: he spoke of them with much feeling and affection. "I feel," said he, "the conduct of the allied sovereigns to be more cruel and unjustifiable towards me in that respect than in any other. Why should they deprive me of the comforts of domestic society, and take from me what must be the dearest objects of affection to every man—my child, and the mother of that child?" On his expressing himself as above, I looked him steadily in the face, to observe whether he showed any emotion: the tears were standing in his eyes, and the whole of his countenance appeared evidently under the influence of a strong feeling of grief.

There were two pictures of young Napoleon: one in the dress of a Polish lancer, and the other with long curly flowing ringlets: they both represented a fair, strong, chubby

Digitized by Google

boy, with features very much resembling those of his father. That of his mother, a very fair woman, with good features, but by no means handsome.

From the observations I was enabled to make, I very much doubt Monsieur Savary's statement, that the passion of ambition was so completely overcome in his bosom, " that had it been proposed to him again to ascend the throne of France, he would have declined it; and I do think, that if he had succeeded in eluding the British cruisers and arrived in America, he would always have looked forward to returning to France. In all his conversations, he spoke of ambition as a quality absolutely necessary to form the character of a soldier. On one occasion, Savary spoke of Kleber, (who was left by Napoleon in command of the army when he quitted Egypt,) in terms of high encomium; this brought on a discussion upon the re-

Digitized by Google

spective merits of that officer and Dessaix, whose aid-de-camp Savary had been during the negotiation of the convention of El Arish. Buonaparte, speaking of Kleber, bestowed upon him great praise as an officer; but he added, "He was deficient in one of the most necessary qualifications of a soldier,—ambition. He was indolent, and required constant spurring. Dessaix, on the contrary, had all his abilities, which were kept in constant activity by a mind whose ambition there was no satisfying; and, had they both lived to the present period, he would have been much the greater man of the two."

It does not appear from the statement of Buonaparte's attendants, that he had made any very considerable provision for the future, in the event of a reverse of fortune. They often regretted his poverty; and Madame Bertrand assured me that he was not possessed of more than a million of francs—

Digitized by Google

forty-two thousand pounds of our money ;* which, if correct, is certainly not a very large sum for a man who had had so many millions at his disposal. "The Emperor has always declared," she said, "that he would rise or fall with the country, and never would enrich himself out of the public property." He also upon one occasion, when there was some intention of leaving Madame Bertrand with her children in England, after stating Bertrand's poverty as an objection to that arrangement, said to me, "My finances are not such as to enable me to give him much assistance."

* Since this narrative was written in the year 1815, it has been proved by Buonaparte's will, that either his attendants were misinformed, or that they, as well as himself, misrepresented the state of his finances, as he left in the hands of Lafitte, the banker, in Paris, a sum of money amounting to nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides a very considerable sum, said to be vested in the American funds.

Digitized by Google

Buonaparte's carriage, which was taken at the battle of Waterloo by the Prussian cavalry, contained many articles of great value. In it was a necessaire, in which all the instruments, bason, &c. were composed of gold; a sword set with diamonds, and a diamond necklace, estimated at a very large sum of money, which one of his sisters (I think, the Princess of Borghese) put round his neck the night he took leave of her at Paris, on his setting out to join the army previous to the battle of Waterloo, and which he had taken off and deposited in a secret place in the carriage; Marchand, his Valet de Chambre, being so nearly taken by the Prussian hussars, that he quitted the carriage without having time to secure it. But I have since learned from Las Cases's Memoirs, that the necklace alluded to was saved, and that Las Cases had it concealed about his person all the time he was on board the Bellerophon.

Digitized by Google

It has been stated in many of the public prints, that had not the Marquis of Anglesea received a wound when he was leading on a charge, Buonaparte must have fallen into his hands. In consequence of observing this assertion, I asked Generals Bertrand and Gourgaud whether they knew if any such occurrence had taken place: both of whom replied, " Certainly not; the Emperor was frequently in the midst of the British troops (pêle-mêle avec les troupes Angloises); but at no time during the battle was he in danger of being captured by a charge of cavalry."

The midshipmen of the Bellerophon were in the habit of occasionally performing plays, to amuse themselves and the officers during the tedious operations of a blockade. Buonaparte being told of it by Savary, requested that they would oblige him by acting one for his amusement. During the performance,

Digitized by Google

Madame Bertrand sat next to him, and interpreted. He appeared much amused, and laughed very heartily at our ladies, who were personated by great strapping fellows dressed in women's clothes, and not in the most tidy fashion. He had the patience to remain to the end of the third act, though, when attending the Opera at Paris, he had always retired at the end of the first.

I heard several of the French officers discussing the merits of the British troops. One of them said, "The cavalry is superb." I observed, "In England we have a higher opinion of our infantry." "You are right," said he; "there is none such in the world: there is no making an impression on them: you may as well attempt to charge through a wall: and their fire is tremendous." Another of them observed: "A great fault in your cavalry is their not having their horses sufficiently under command: there must be

Digitized by Google

something wrong in the bit, as on one or two occasions in a charge, they could not stop their horses: our troops opened to the right and left, let them pass through, and then closed their ranks again, when they were either killed or taken prisoners."

I never heard Buonaparte speak of the battle of Waterloo, or give an opinion of the Duke of Wellington; but I asked General Bertrand what Napoleon thought of him. "Why," replied he, "I will give you his opinion nearly in the words he delivered it to me. 'The Duke of Wellington, in the management of an army, is fully equal to myself, with the advantage of possessing more prudence.'"

During the time that Buonaparte was on board the Bellerophon, we always lived expressly for his accommodation—entirely in the French manner; that is to say, a hot meal was served at ten o'clock in the morn-

Digitized by Google

ing, and another at six in the evening; and so nearly did they resemble each other in all respects, that a stranger might have found difficulty, in coming into the cabin, to distinguish breakfast from dinner. His maître d'hôtel took the joints off the table, cut them up in portions, and then handed them round. Buonaparte ate a great deal, and generally of strong solid food: in drinking he was extremely abstemious, confining himself almost entirely to claret, and seldom taking more than half-a-pint at a meal. Immediately after dinner, strong coffee was handed round, and then some cordial; after which he rose from table, the whole meal seldom lasting more than twenty or twenty-five minutes: and I was told, that during the time he was at the head of the French Government, he never allowed more than fifteen minutes for that purpose.

After he had quitted the ship, being de-

Digitized by Google

sirous to know the feeling of the ship's company towards him, I asked my servant what the people said of him. "Why, Sir," he answered, "I heard several of them conversing together about him this morning; when one of them observed, 'Well, they may abuse that man as much as they please; but if the people of England knew him as well as we do, they would not hurt a hair of his head;' in which the others agreed." This was the more extraordinary, as he never went through the ship's company but once, immediately after his coming on board, when I attended him, and he did not speak to any of the men; merely returning their salute by pulling off his hat; and in consequence of his presence, they suffered many privations, such as not being allowed to see their wives and friends, or to go on shore, having to keep watch in port, &c.; and when he left the ship, the only money he distributed was twenty Napoleons to my steward, fifteen to one of the under-servants, and ten to the cook.

Digitized by Google

It may, perhaps, be interesting to give a slight sketch of the principal persons who accompanied Buonaparte to the Bellerophon; premising, that I do not pretend to be minutely correct in the view I took of them: the trying circumstances in which these unfortunate men were placed, being such as required more than common temper; and I think it very doubtful, whether, in the same situation, Englishmen would have maintained equal forbearance.

Count Bertrand was a man of about forty-four years of age, five feet ten inches in height, of a slight make and prepossessing appearance: his manners extremely placid and gentle, though evidently of a warm temper; and showed himself rather hasty in his conduct to Sir George Cockburn, about searching the baggage; as Sir George was not acting upon his own authority, but by the directions of his superiors, and was inclined to

Digitized by Google

conduct himself with as much consideration as his orders would admit. He was an affectionate attentive husband, and much attached to his children.

The Countess Bertrand was then of a tall, slight figure. Her maiden name was Dillon; her father was an Irishman in the French service, who lost his life during the revolution, and was related to Lord Dillon. Though, perhaps, a little warm, she has undoubtedly many excellent qualities: she showed herself to be a kind mother and affectionate wife; and if she easily took offence, she as easily forgot it; and any little dispute that occurred between her and me, was amply atoned for by the frank and affectionate manner in which she took leave when we were about to part, perhaps for ever. They had, at the time I speak of, three fine children, — two boys and a girl; the eldest boy about five years of age, who seemed to have a natural turn for the

Digitized by Google

profession of his father: his constant amusement, in which the young lady and little Montholon joined, was forming lines and squares, and other military evolutions, on the quarter deck.

General Savary, Duc de Rovigo, was a tall handsome man, then about forty-six years of age, of a cheerful disposition; and notwithstanding the alarm he was in lest he should be given up to the French Government, he never forgot himself so far as to make use of a rude expression in my presence. He was Minister of Police after Fouché. As a great deal had been said about Captain Wright's death, I spoke to him one day upon the subject, and told him it was generally believed in England that he had been murdered: he said, "I took much pains in investigating that matter, and in ascertaining the cause of his death; and I have not a doubt that he cut his own throat in a fit of

Digitized by Google

delirium." Neither Savary nor Lallemand were allowed to accompany Buonaparte to St. Helena; but on the Bellerophon's return to Plymouth, after transferring Napoleon to the Northumberland, both of them, together with Planat and the other officers with the exception of three, were, by an order from the Admiralty, sent on board the Eurotas frigate, which conveyed them to Malta, from whence, after remaining some time as prisoners in Fort St. Angelo, they were allowed to proceed to Smyrna.

General Lallemand was about forty-two years of age, of a thick strong make; his manners not pleasing, and his appearance by no means prepossessing. During the whole time he was in the Bellerophon, he was morose and abstracted, and seemed much alarmed lest he should be given up to the French Government; and there can be little doubt, had he fallen into its power, he would

Digitized by Google

have shared the fate of Ney, as he had, with the troops under his command, joined Napoleon on his return from Elba. He had formerly been, for several years, one of Buonaparte's aide-de-camps, and during the time he was in the Bellerophon always did that duty in rotation with Montholon and Gourgaud; one of them sleeping in his clothes on a mattress every night outside of the door of the cabin he slept in. The other two aide-de-camps, Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, were young men about thirty-two years of age, the former an officer in the cavalry, and the other in the artillery: they were both of good families; but their attachment to Buonaparte induced them to give up their country and property to follow him.

Madame Montholon was a quiet unassuming woman, gave no trouble, and seemed perfectly satisfied, provided she were allowed to accompany her husband. She had

Digitized by Google

with her one fine little boy, about four years old, and I believe left another child at nurse in France.

Count Las Cases, though he bore the title of Counsellor of State, held no official situation with Buonaparte; nor did I perfectly understand how he came to accompany him on his departure from France, as he was not with him in Elba: but the intimacy appeared to have been formed since his return from that island. Napoleon was fond of his conversation. He was of small stature, being little more than five feet high, and slightly made. He always spoke of his master in terms of enthusiasm, and resisted every application from his wife and family to remain behind, being determined to follow wherever Buonaparte might be sent. He took with him his eldest son, a quick intelligent boy of thirteen.

Digitized by Google

Monsieur Maingaut, the surgeon, with all the domestics beyond the twelve who went to St. Helena, were conveyed in the Bellerophon to Portsmouth, and from thence sent to Cherbourg, and landed there. Monsieur Saint Catharine, a lad about sixteen, nephew to the Empress Josephine, and a native of Martinique, was provided with a passage to that island in one of our sloops of war.

Captain Prontowski, a Pole, was allowed to proceed to St. Helena, some time after the Northumberland sailed. Why this indulgence was granted to him, I never clearly understood; but it was said to be in consequence of the representations he made to the British Government, of the very strong attachment he entertained to his fallen master,—a feeling, as far as I could judge, which prevailed with equal force in the breasts of all those who accompanied him from France, without excepting Madame Bertrand, who,

Digitized by Google

when not influenced by the horror she entertained of being banished to St. Helena, always spoke of him not only with affection, but in the language of respect and enthusiasm.

Digitized by Google

APPENDIX.

So many erroneous statements have gone abroad, as to the terms of Buonaparte's reception on board the Bellerophon, that I conceive it right to give the following correspondence, although at the expense of some repetition; in order to its being distinctly seen, that the good faith of the British nation was not compromised on that occasion, but that His Majesty's Government were at perfect liberty, as far as those terms were concerned, to act as they thought best.

Digitized by Google

"Tonnant, at anchor under Berry-head,
7th August, 1815.

"SIR,

"Count Las Cases having this morning stated to me that he understood from you, when he was on board the Bellerophon in Basque Roads, on a mission from General Buonaparte, that you were authorized to receive the General and his suite on board the ship you command, for conveyance to England; and that you assured him, at the same time, that both the General and his suite would be well received there; you are to report for my information, such observations as you may consider it necessary to make upon these assertions.

"I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
Humble servant,
KEITH, Admiral."

"Captain Maitland,
Bellerophon."

Digitized by Google

"H. M. S. Bellerophon,
Plymouth Sound, 8th August, 1815.

"My Lord,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of yesterday's date, informing me that Count Las Cases had stated to you, that he had understood from me when he was on board the Bellerophon in Basque Roads, on a mission from General Buonaparte, that I was authorized to receive the General and his suite on board the ship I command, for a conveyance to England, and that I assured him at the same time, that both the General and his suite would be well received there; and directing me to report for your Lordship's information such observations as I may consider it necessary to make upon these assertions. I shall, in consequence, state, to the best of my recollection, the whole of the transaction that took place between Count Las Cases and

Digitized by Google

me, on the 14th of July, respecting the embarkation of Napoleon Buonaparte, for the veracity of which I beg to refer your Lordship to Captain Sartorius as to what was said in the morning, and to that officer and Captain Gambier (the Myrmidon having joined me in the afternoon) as to what passed in the evening.

"Your Lordship being informed already of the flag of truce that came out to me on the 10th of July, as well as of every thing that occurred on that occasion, I shall confine myself to the transactions of the 14th of the same month.

"Early in the morning of that day, the officer of the watch informed me, a schooner, bearing a flag of truce, was approaching: on her joining the ship, about seven A.M. the Count Las Cases and General Lallemand came on board, when, on being shown into

Digitized by Google

the cabin, Las Cases asked me if any answer had been returned to the letter sent by me to Sir Henry Hotham respecting Napoleon Buonaparte being allowed to pass for America, either in the frigates or in a neutral vessel. I informed him no answer had been returned, though I hourly expected, in consequence of those despatches, Sir Henry Hotham would arrive; and, as I had told Monsieur Las Cases, when last on board, that I should send my boat in when the answer came, it was quite unnecessary to have sent out a flag of truce on that account: —there, for the time, the conversation terminated. On their coming on board, I had made the signal for the Captain of the Slaney, being desirous of having a witness to all that might pass.

"After breakfast (during which Captain Sartorius came on board) we retired to the after-cabin, when Monsieur Las Cases began

Digitized by Google

on the same subject, and said, 'The Emperor was so anxious to stop the further effusion of blood, that he would go to America in any way the English Government would sanction, either in a neutral, a disarmed frigate, or an English ship of war.' To which I replied, 'I have no authority to permit any of those measures; but if he chooses to come on board the ship I command, I think, under the orders I am acting with, I may venture to receive him and carry him to England; but, if I do so, I can in no way be answerable for the reception he may meet with (this I repeated several times); when Las Cases said, 'I have little doubt, under those circumstances, that you will see the Emperor on board the Bellerophon.' After some more general conversation, and the above being frequently repeated, Monsieur Las Cases and General Lallemand took their leave: and I assure your Lordship that I never, in any way, entered into conditions

Digitized by Google

with respect to the reception General Buonaparte was to meet with; nor was it, at that time, finally arranged that he was to come on board the Bellerophon. In the course of conversation, Las Cases asked me whether I thought Buonaparte would be well received in England; to which I gave the only answer I could do in my situation—'That I did not at all know what was the intention of the British Government; but I had no reason to suppose he would not be well received.' It is here worthy of remark, that when Las Cases came on board, he assured me that Buonaparte was then at Rochefort, and that it would be necessary for him to go there to report the conversation that had passed between us (this I can prove by the testimony of Captain Sartorius, and the first Lieutenant of this ship, to whom I spoke of it at the time), which statement was not fact; Buonaparte never having quitted Isle d'Aix, or the frigates, after the 3rd.

Digitized by Google

"I was, therefore, much surprised at seeing Monsieur Las Cases on board again before seven o'clock the same evening; and one of the first questions I put to him was, whether he had been at Rochefort. He answered, that on returning to Isle d'Aix, he found that Buonaparte had arrived there.

"Monsieur Las Cases then presented to me the letter Count Bertrand wrote concerning Buonaparte's intention to come on board the ship (a copy of which has been transmitted to your Lordship by Sir Henry Hotham); and it was not till then agreed upon that I should receive him; when either Monsieur Las Cases, or General Gourgaud (I am not positive which, as I was employed writing my own despatches,) wrote to Bertrand to inform him of it. While paper was preparing to write the letter, I said again to Monsieur Las Cases, 'You will recollect I have no authority for making conditions of any sort.'

Digitized by Google

Nor has Monsieur Las Cases ever started such an idea till the day before yesterday. That it was not the feeling of Buonaparte, or the rest of his people, I will give strong proof, drawn from the conversations they have held with me.

"As I never heard the subject mentioned till two days ago, I shall not detail every conversation that has passed, but confine myself to that period.

"The night that the squadron anchored at the back of Berry-head, Buonaparte sent for me about 10 P. M. and said he was informed by Bertrand, that I had received orders to remove him to the Northumberland, and wished to know if that was the case; on being told that it was, he requested I would write a letter to Bertrand, stating I had such orders, that it might not appear

Digitized by Google

that he went of his own accord, but that he had been forced to do so. I told him, I could have no objection, and wrote a letter to that effect (a copy of which is here annexed), which your Lordship afterwards sanctioned, and desired me, if he required it, to give him a copy of the order.

"After having arranged that matter, I was going to withdraw, when he requested me to remain, as he had something more to say: he then began complaining of his treatment in being forced to go to St. Helena: among other things, he observed, 'They say I made no conditions: certainly, I made no conditions: how could a private man (*un particulier*) make conditions with a nation? I wanted nothing from them but hospitality, or (as the ancients would express it) air and water. I threw myself on the generosity of the English nation; I claimed a place *sur leurs foyers*, and my only wish was to purchase a small

Digitized by Google

estate and end my life in tranquillity.' After more of the same sort of conversation I left him for the night.

"On the morning he removed from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland, he sent for me again, and said, 'I have sent for you to express my gratitude for your conduct to me, while I have been on board the ship you command. My reception in England has been very different from what I expected; but you throughout have behaved like a man of honour; and I request you will accept my thanks, as well as convey them to the officers, and ship's company of the Bellerophon.'

"Soon afterwards Montholon came to me from Buonaparte; but, to understand what passed between him and me, I must revert to a conversation that I had with Madame Bertrand on the passage from Rochefort.

Digitized by Google

"It is not necessary to state how the conversation commenced, as it does not apply to the present transaction; but she informed me, that it was Buonaparte's intention to present me with a box containing his picture set with diamonds. I answered, 'I hope not, for I cannot receive it.' 'Then you will offend him very much,' she said. 'If that is the case,' I replied, 'I request you will take measures to prevent its being offered, as it is absolutely impossible I can accept of it; and I wish to spare him the mortification, and myself the pain, of a refusal.' There the matter dropt, and I heard no more of it, till about half an hour before Buonaparte quitted the Bellerophon, when Montholon came to me, and said he was desired by Buonaparte to express the high sense he entertained of my conduct throughout the whole of the transaction: that it had been his intention to present me with a box

Digitized by Google

containing his portrait, but that he understood I was determined not to accept it. I said, 'Placed as I was, I felt it impossible to receive a present from him, though I was highly flattered at the testimony he had borne to the uprightness of my conduct throughout.' Montholon then added, 'One of the greatest causes of chagrin he feels in not being admitted to an interview with the Prince Regent, is, that he had determined to ask as a favour, your being promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral.' To which I replied, 'That would have been quite impossible, but I do not the less feel the kindness of the intention.' I then said, 'I am hurt that Las Cases should say I held forth any assurances as to the reception Buonaparte was to meet with in England.' 'Oh!' said he, 'Las Cases is disappointed in his expectations; and as he negotiated the affair, he attributes the Emperor's situation

Digitized by Google

to himself: but I can assure you, that he (Buonaparte) feels convinced you have acted like a man of honour throughout.'

"As your Lordship overheard part of a conversation which took place between Las Cases and me on the quarter-deck of the Bellerophon, I shall not detail it; but on that occasion, I positively denied having promised any thing as to the reception of Buonaparte and his suite; and I believe your Lordship was of opinion, he could not make out the statement to you.

"It is extremely unpleasant for me to be under the necessity of entering into a detail of this sort; but the unhandsome representation Monsieur Las Cases has made to your Lordship of my conduct, has obliged me to produce proofs of the light in which the transaction was viewed by Buonaparte as well as his attendants.

Digitized by Google

"I again repeat, that Captains Gambier and Sartorius can verify the principal part of what I have stated, as far as concerns the charge made against me by Count Las Cases.

"I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
FREDERICK L. MAITLAND."

"To the Right Hon.
Viscount Keith, G.C.B.
&c. &c. &c."

"Slaney, in Plymouth Sound,
15th August, 1815.

"MY LORD,

"I have read Captain Maitland's letter to your Lordship, of the 8th instant, containing his observations upon the assertions made on the preceding day by Count Las Cases; and I most fully attest the correctness of the statement he has made, so

Digitized by Google

far as relates to the conversations that took place in my presence.

"I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
G. R. SARTORIUS.
Capt. of H. M. S. Slaney."

"To the Right Hon.
Viscount Keith, G. C. B.
&c. &c. &c."

A letter to the same effect as the foregoing was written to Lord Keith, by Captain Gambier, of the Myrmidon, and forwarded by his Lordship to the Admiralty, with my report; of which, by some accident, the Admiral's secretary did not furnish me with a copy.

THE END.

3436-2

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google